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HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS

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XI. The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey. Vol. II. *pp*. 339-636.

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1849-50. XIX. Notitia Cestriensis. Vol. II. Part I. *Lancashire, Part I.* *pp*. iv, 160, xxviii.

XX. The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey. Vol. IV. *(Conclusion).* *pp*. lv-lxiii, 937-1314.

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1850-1. XXII. Notitia Cestriensis. Vol. II. Part III. *Lancashire, Part III. (Conclusion).* *pp*. 353-621.

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LXVII. } Rev. CANON RAINES, M.A., F.S.A. (2) The Private Devotions of the Right Honourable that Glorious Martyr James 7th earle of Derby composed by his Lordship vpon severall occasions in the Isle of Man. (3) The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Man, by James 7th earl of Derby, and Lord of Man.

LXVIII. Collectanea relating to Manchester and its Neighbourhood, at various periods. Compiled arranged and edited by JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

REMAINS

HISTORICAL & LITERARY

CONNECTED WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

VOL. LXVIII.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXVI.

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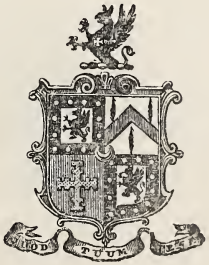

COLLECTANEA

RELATING TO

MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD,

AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

COMPILED, ARRANGED, AND EDITED

BY

JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXVI.

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INTRODUCTION.

During a connexion of thirty years with the *Manchester Guardian,* the present Editor published in that Journal and in the *Weekly Express* a number of local and other antiquarian articles, which many friends (including the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester) have urged him to collect and print in a separate form. He has at length been induced by the President of the Chetham Society, to compile the present volume; which includes, also, several articles not previously printed.

The intention expressed page 119, to give in this volume a brief memoir of Mrs. Raffald's Life and Works, has been reluctantly abandoned, in consequence of the length to which the work has already extended.

The Editor has been largely indebted to James Crossley Esq., F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, for judicious counsel, for much additional fact and information, especially for the account of Podmore, the Learned Peruke, Maker, and for careful revision of the work as it passed through the Press; and for these friendly aids he offers his warmest acknowledgments.

J. H.

Swinton, March, 1866.

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COLLECTANEA

RELATING TO

MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

COLLECTANEA

RELATING TO MANCHESTER AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

PICTURES OF MANCHESTER AT VARIOUS PERIODS, BY EMINENT HANDS.

No. I.

British Manchester, by the Rev. John Whitaker, B.D.

IF one could have a series of photographed isometrical views of Manchester, at intervals of a century, from its earliest days to the present time, they would form a portfolio of art treasures of the deepest local and even general interest. For they would constitute a regular series of portraitures of social and municipal progress, from the rude group of aboriginal huts buried in the ancient woods, to the vast agglomeration of lofty piles of buildings, which the world now calls Manchester. But as it is useless sighing after the impossible, however much desiderated, the next best thing is to endeavour to realise so much of the object as is practicable; and it so happens that in different ages, and with various powers of description, we have verbal delineations of our "good old town," by men of note; and their pen-and-ink sketches, aided by various plans, maps and "prospects" of the place, we propose to reproduce for the amusement if not the edification of our readers. We undertake no responsibility in this matter beyond that of bringing once more to light the outline

sketches of deceased masters. Where they have delineated from memory they deserve some degree of confidence; but where they paint from the imagination, their "fancy sketch" may be accepted with as much or as little allowance as the judicious reader may be disposed to accord. Without further preface or apology we introduce some of the earliest of these paintings, which are undoubtedly, with some semblance of reality, of the nature of Turner's *Ancient Italy*, clever and artistic compositions of the painter, representing not so much what actually has been, as what, reasoning from analogy and history, might have been, in "the days of the years that are past."

In the present Castle Field (says Whitaker), before the construction of the Roman *castrum* or station upon it, was the British town, all built upon the rocky height that forms the northern bank of the Medlock. . . . . The rude [British] station of Mancenion, one of the first towns in the county of Lancaster, a little prior to all the more northerly forts, and the first faint outlines of the present Manchester, was originally formed about half a century before Christ. . . . . Its dimensions are still discernible. It filled the whole area of the present Camp Field, except the low swampy part of it on the west, and was 12 acres 3 roods and 10 perches in extent. Terminating by the windings of the Medlock on the south, south-east and south-west, it was bounded on the east by a fosse, on the west by the present very lofty bank, and on the north by a long and broad ditch. . . . . On the east and north, the level of the area within being even with the surface of the ground without, the Britons must have sunk a ditch and raised a rampart.

Whitaker describes, with great prolixity, the details of the natural and artificial boundaries and defences of what he calls in turn the British "fortress," and the British "city." To reprint these would only be to occupy space and weary the reader. But Whitaker has himself given to the eye a better picture of his ideal "Mancenion" than his verbal description. He surveyed, measured, and delineated what he calls "the ground-plot of the British Mancenion;" he tells us it was "taken August 8, 1765;" and he has had it engraved as an illustration to his *History of*

Manchester (vol. i. 4to, to face p. 26). It is on the scale of about 45 yards to the inch. In outline form the enclosed fort or city much resembles a shoulder of mutton, back uppermost, and the shank or knuckle end to the east, which is formed by Knot Mill or Aldport Lane and some gardens. Measured by the scale he gives, the greatest length of the enclosure is about 360 yards; its breadth varies from about 124 to 360 yards. The north boundary is altogether "a deep fosse or ditch;" on the west it is "a high bank," and outside "a morass;" and the whole of the irregular line forming the south boundary is that of the river Medlock, from Knot Mill on the east to the high bank on the west, the course of the stream here being from east to west. Whitaker delineates "a hollow way" leading from Aldport Lane "to the ford" over the Medlock, a little west of the Knot Mill, which mill is depicted on the south or Hulme bank of the river, near the then bridge, close to the west side of Aldport Lane, and opposite on the east side of the lane is the "Kiln." At two points inside the fort, Whitaker states that British foundations were discovered, of what he supposes to have been a "hovel for the British cattle." At a third on the north bank of the Medlock, he says, stone steps down to the river were found, of British construction. He then continues: —

> The principal entrance into it [the city] must have been near the north-east angle of the field, and in the large vacancy between the commencement of the eastern fosse and the conclusion of the northern ditch. . . . . The area enclosed within the whole, the Britons must have filled with houses for themselves and with hovels for their cattle. Both have been more strongly built than their temporary huts of reeds or turf. The former must have been great round cabins, built principally of timber upon foundations of stone, and roofed with a sloping covering of skins or of reeds.
>
> The cabins, perhaps, were disposed into two or three rows or streets, coursed in right lines from east to west, and possessed the whole extent of the higher ground; . . . . and the hovels [which he thinks were nearly square, and about 16 by 12 yards within] perhaps were all placed in two or three lines behind the most southerly of the rows, and along the inclining margin of the river. . . . . The discovery of many blocks of Collyhurst

stone in the foundation evinces the Britons of Mancenion to have skirted along the woody area of the present town with their cars, and to have repaired to the quarry of Collyhurst. The whole clough, or woody hollow, of Collyhurst appears clearly, upon a survey, to be nothing more than the ample cavity of a great quarry, which first began on the south-west, and which had its first road of entrance from it. . . . . During the continuance of this British fortress in the Castle Field, the whole extended country around it must have been one large wood, which began immediately on the outside of the barriers, and diffused itself for a considerable space around them. [This wood, he says, the Britons called 'Arden,' *i. e.*, 'the great wood.'] It must have covered all the site of the present Manchester; and along the present streets, instead of the cheerful voice of industry and the numerous retainers of commerce, must have then existed the gloom of forests and the silence of solitude, ... never interrupted but by the numerous resort of soldiers to the fortress in war, by the occasional visits of hunters in peace, and by the hollow hum and dying murmurs of the garrison conversing at a distance in the Castle Field. . . . . The boar and wolf, then inhabitants of this gloomy region, ... slumbered, perhaps, in security by day, on the well-wooded bank of the present church yard, and roamed, perhaps, in companies by night, over the well-wooded area of the present market place.

Such is our imaginative historian's picture of the British town and fort in the Castle Field of Manchester. But to give it animation, we must also take his description of its inhabitants.

The county of Lancaster in general, and the parish of Manchester in particular, must have been first planted ['by Celtic colonists'] about 150 years before the arrival of the Belgæ, and about 500 before Christ. . . . . Thus settled in the woody region of Lancashire, the colonists received the appropriate name of Setantii, Sistantii, or Sistuntii [derived from British words signifying 'the country of water,' or 'the inferior and southerly country of water']. . . . . The Sistuntii had the towns of Coccui, Bremetonac, Rerigon, Veratin, and our own Mancenion [which names, Whitaker thinks, denoted the modern Blackrod, Overborough, Ribchester, Warrington, and Manchester. But Coccium is now generally believed to have been the ancient site of Ribchester]; — all acknowledging the first to be, what the name of Coccui, or 'supreme,' undeniably imports it to have been, the British metropolis of Lancashire. . . . . The neighbouring tribe of the

Brigantes [which Whitaker derives from a British word, denoting separation and division] had been hitherto confined within the counties of York and Durham. But .... about the commencement of the Christian era, it detached a strong party across the long barrier of hills .... into the country of the Sistuntii, ... who, unable to resist the vigour of the Brigantian armies, were obliged to submit, and received the general appellation of Brigantes.

We are to suppose, therefore, that Manchester, at this period, was tenanted by two distinct tribes of Celts or Britons — the conquering Brigantes and the vanquished Sistuntii. Whitaker thus describes their possessions: —

Cattle were the great riches of the Britons in general; and it was a common practice among the tribes to keep large herds of their cattle upon the uninhabited grounds that skirted the borders of their country. They retained under their own care as many as they could conveniently furnish with pastures, and they detached the rest into the borders, under the care of their servants. .... The little armouries of the Sistuntii, like those of their brethren in other districts, must have been furnished with helmets, coats of mail, shields and chariots, and with spears, daggers, swords, battle-axes, and bows. The helmet, the coat of mail, and the chariot were confined to the chiefs; the common soldiers fought always on foot, provided with shields for their own defence, and with spears, swords, daggers, bows, and battle-axes for offence. The shield was like the target of our present Highlanders, slight, generally round, and always bossy. The sword was like the broadsword of the same mountaineers, large, heavy, and unpointed. The dagger was like their present dirk.

Whitaker then describes at length, and figures a small bronze *Celt* [*Celtis,* Latin, a chisel], three inches long, with a side-loop or ear, and a socket to receive a wooden handle, which was found about 1751 in one of the neighbouring mosses [? Hough] and was placed among the curiosities in Chetham's Library, and thence recently transferred to the Peel Park Museum, Salford. It resembles a rude chisel or wedge, and was probably thus used, as the wooden handle or haft would be in the line of the blade, and consequently be ill-adapted for chopping or cutting like an axe or

hatchet. Whitaker, however, says "it was plainly the head of a light battle-axe." He also describes a much larger celt of stone, strong and heavy, and he believes the first found in Lancashire, being turned up by the harrow in a field near Throstle Nest, and given by him to Sir Ashton Lever's museum. It was twelve inches long, the blade ground neatly to an edge, and near the blunt end a hole through it for the reception of a handle at right angle to the blade, like that of an axe or adze. It weighed 8lb. 4oz. Whitaker then proceeds :

The military *car-rhod*, wheeled car, or chariot, ... derived by the Britons from their Gallic ancestors . . . . was used equally for the journey and the fight. . . . . These chariots the Britons distinguished by the two denominations of *Essedom* or seats, and of *Covini*, *i. e.*, coffins or vehicles. Their wheels were sometimes furnished with scythes, were always drawn by two horses, and carried sometimes two persons — the driver and the warrior — and sometimes only one.

The Sistuntii were divided into little clans or families, each acknowledging the authority of its proper chief. . . . . The retainers always attended the car of their lord to war, and were always settled around his habitation in peace. . . . . His mansion was also constructed of wood, was all one ground storey, surrounding a large oblong quadrangular court, great part taken up by [domestic retainers] and the rest . . . consisted of one great and several little rooms. In the great room was his armoury; — the arms of his fathers, the gifts of friends, and the spoils of enemies, being disposed in order around the walls. In the great room sat the lord with his family and guests about him, listening to the historical song and the five-stringed harps of his bards, or to the songs and harps of his daughters, and all drinking from cups of shell. The venison of the Britons . . . . was laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and covered with a layer of smooth flat stones, and another of fern above it. Their ordinary liquors were water, milk, and metheglin; but upon all festival occasions they drank the beverage then denominated *curmi*, now *cwrwi* by the Welsh, and *ale* by the English. . . . . This was transmitted from hand to hand in their cups of shell, when they feasted with their chief, when the burning oak lighted up his hall, and the wind whistled through his open windows.

The food of our Celtic forefathers was derived chiefly from their

oxen, sheep, deer, and hogs. The native birds which helped to furnish the table were the duck, teal, widgeon, wild goose, and swan; the woodcock, quail, heath-cock or grouse, and snipe; the stock-dove, the lark, and other small birds. They altogether neglected fish, and never ate hare, which was deemed sacred as an animal of augury.

Whitaker then narrates the agricultural usages of the Celts or Britons of Manchester and the neighbourhood. Amongst others, he notices their manuring or fertilising the soil with the unctuous earth called *marl* [a Celtic word meaning marrow], which he says is commonly found in Lancashire only two or three feet below the surface, in layers or veins two yards thick or more. He supposes the diggings for marl by the Celtic dwellers of Manchester to have been continued for ages; and two of their sites, he thinks, were "the Shudehill pits" and "the Daubholes," which latter formerly held the site of the Infirmary pond, now the Esplanade. The Manchester Britons, he says, preferred the large Celtic scythe for both hands to the small Italic or Roman scythe, short like a sickle, and, like it, managed by the right hand alone. To them he attributes, also, the swinging flail (the Romans trampling the corn with cattle, or pressing it with the *tribulum*) and the watery hone, or whetstone (that of the Romans requiring oil). — The grain grown was barley, for malting, and the red and light wheat of Gaul, not the white and heavy Italian wheat. The flour was sifted or refined by the horse-hair sieves of Gallic invention, which continued in use in this neighbourhood till the middle of the last century. To lighten their bread, instead of the leaven, the eggs, the milk, or the wine-mixed honey of other nations, the Celts used the spume which collected on the surface of their fermenting ale, which they called *burm*, whence our barm, or yeast.

Through the great woods of Arden flowed various streams, in whose cooling waters, two thousand years ago, the large stag of the British forests took shelter from the chase. These rivers all bore British or Celtic names. The Mersey, says Whitaker, was

called by the Britons *Beli-sama*, the head stream, or king of currents. The Irwell, *Ir Gueil, Irwel, i. e.,* the western torrent. The Irk was named, from its lively current, the *Iwrck* or roebuck. The Medlock is from *Med, mad,* or *mat,* fair; and *Lug, log,* or *loc,* the water. The Tib, like the Teivi, Tame, Towey, Dove, Dee, &c., means simply the water. The Cornbrook was the *Cor-aun,* or little stream.

As to the attire &c. of the Britons, Whitaker says their hair, generally yellow, and always long and bushy, was turned back upon the crown of the head, and fell down in a long wreath behind. The beard [or rather moustache] was long, but entirely confined to the upper lip. They appeared naked in battle, painting their bodies for the fight, and wearing a ring round the middle. On all other occasions the people generally were clothed in skins. The chiefs wore a tunic, called a *cota,* like our waistcoat, reaching to the middle, open before, with long sleeves, and of plaided pattern. The plaid trousers, called *Brages* or breeches (meaning parti-coloured), wrapped loosely round the thighs and legs, terminating at the ankles. Over the waistcoat and trousers was a loose plaided garment, called a *sag* or *sac,* thick and strong in texture, fastened round the body with buttons, and girdled at the waist. Round the naked neck was a large gold chain, hanging down upon the naked breast; and gold rings on the middle finger of both hands. The retainers had chain and rings of iron. Parti-coloured shoes were also called *brac* or *brag* like the trousers, and are still in Ireland called *brogues.* Others were made of hides, nearly like modern half boots, and called *bottasen, butais,* or *botes.* On their heads were round bonnets. This dress, worn in Ireland to the close of the 17th century, and in the Highlands of Scotland to the present day, was the attire of both sexes to the period of the Roman conquest of England. Shirts or under-linen and stockings were unknown to them till after the conquest. The predominating colour in their plaids or tartans seems to have been red; their bodies were chiefly stained blue, with woad.

The large grazing farms near Manchester had houses or granges

upon them, and here the British farmers made butter and cheese, and kept beehives, of basket or plaited work of oziers, in which work they excelled; a British hive, found about 1753 on Chat Moss, two yards below the surface, being a cone of two and a half yards in height, and one in diameter at the base, in four storeys, or distinct hives, made of unpeeled willow, with doors large enough to admit a full-grown hand into each storey. It contained complete combs, and perfect bees of very large size; but all speedily mouldered into dust. At these farms were places for keeping poultry; also gardens, including flower and kitchen garden and orchard all in one. Amongst the native vegetables were the carrot and the turnip. The rabbit had not then been introduced; hares were native, but, being held sacred, were never killed for eating. They were bred and kept in numbers about the courts of the chiefs. From the infant brood of the wild boar of the woods, reared and domesticated on the farms, Whitaker supposes the British breed of pigs to have been obtained. Further from the town and surrounding woods were the meadows, corn fields, and pastures, the latter filled with flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, guarded by the shepherds and neat-herds, and their mastiffs. Whitaker enumerates five native breeds of dogs — the great house dog, the greyhound, the bull-dog, the terrier, and the large slow-hound. Of the first he says there is a breed at Manchester enormously tall and large. Of the last, he says it is now almost peculiar to the parish of Manchester, the last perishing remains of a British breed. It was described by Drayton in his Poly-olbion, and was usually called the Manchester or Lancashire hound. He figures it to scale in his 8vo edition (vol. ii. p. 75), and it stands apparently twenty-five inches high.

Amongst the wild animals of the chase, Whitaker enumerates a large kind of native moose deer (not the elk), called *seghs*, or savage deer; also the large red deer, the bear, the wolf, the boar, and wild cattle; for hunting which different breeds of dogs were used, the Manchester hound, says Whitaker, for the *segh* or moose deer, and for the others, stag-hounds, bear-dogs, wolf-dogs, and bull-dogs.

As to mechanical arts, the Britons of South Lancashire had a rude kind of hand-moulded pottery, baked in a kiln. They were skilled in carpentry and in wood-turning; and most of their furniture and household utensils were of treen-ware or wood, as brewing utensils, tables, chairs and stools, trenchers or wooden plates, bowls, &c. They made vessels and rings of glass, and also the pierced and coloured beads called adder-cops, &c. They also made necklaces and trinkets of the amber gathered on the shore. They had forges, and worked in iron and brass, or bronze, brass or copper being far the commoner metal. Lead and tin were also got, but not near Manchester. Whitaker describes a brass kettle or skillet, found in a neighbouring moss and deposited in Chetham's Library, formed of a compound of about one-third lead and two-thirds brass [copper]; about five and a half inches diameter, two and a half in depth, and having a flat handle of brass.

Till the Roman times, houses were covered with reeds or skins; skins (and not straw) formed the beds of the British men of Manchester; their homes were wooden huts; their hearths sunken stones in the middle of the floor, over which a large hole was the only chimney, and over the wood fires were hung the cauldrons for cooking food. Corn was ground by the stone *quern*, or hand-mill, and baked on the hearth, or on stones called *grediols*, whence our griddles.

The trees in the adjacent woods were chiefly the oak, the fir, and the birch; the chief fruit-tree being the apple. In the loftier trees were eyries of small eagles, and of spar, or sparrow-hawks. This hawk was reclaimed by the Britons for pursuing feathered game; and we may picture to ourselves our remote predecessors hawking in the open glades, or the half-savage hunters of pre-Roman Manchester, rousing the bear from its den, the wolf from its lair, or the moose and red deer from their coverts, and pursuing the chase to the sound of the horn, along the echoing banks of the Irk, the Irwell, the Medlock, or the Mersey.

However the somewhat fanciful artist may have over-wrought his materials, over-drawn his sketch, or suffused his picture in

the too vivid and glowing hues of imagination, we think enough remains (after due allowance for much exaggeration and speculative conjecture) to enable the general reader to see for himself, "in the mind's eye," a tolerably faithful portraiture of what the site of Manchester may once have been, in the days of its ancient dwellers, the Celts or Britons.

No. II.

Roman-British Manchester, by the Rev. John Whitaker, B.D.

WE prefer for the present picture of the Roman *castrum*, fort or station in Castle Field, the compound title of Roman-British to the simple appellation of Roman. True, the place was then under Roman rule; but who occupied it? The victorious troops of Rome formed its garrison; but not its population. Its regiment of 700 men was strong enough to overawe the natives; but the natives continued to dwell around it, in all probability in a mild sort of captivity. Again, the picture, to be correct, must depict the victors and vanquished, living side by side in outward peace. The victors, too, would be wholly false in portraiture if delineated as soldiers from the banks of the Tiber, or from any part of the Roman territory in Italy. The so-called Roman garrison of Manchester consisted of the foreign auxiliary soldiers called the First Cohort of Frisians, attached to the 20th Legion, then stationed at Chester. It was part of the policy of Rome to draft into her armies bodies of soldiery raised by conscription from various conquered tribes and countries, and to employ these for the conquest and for the colonisation of other foreign countries. Of these foreign auxiliaries there were in Britain many from Teutonic tribes in the north and west of Germany, including Batavia, Usipia, and Frisia; as well as from

Gaul, Spain, &c., there being even a Moorish body of troops stationed at Appleby, in Westmorland. Admitting the probability that some of the superior officers of the Frisian cohort, forming the garrison of Manchester, were Romans proper, there would then be three distinct languages spoken within the limited Manchester of that distant day—Latin, Friesic, and British. We are not writing the history of the Roman conquest, and therefore it must suffice to say that, accepting the authority of Tacitus, we find that Agricola, in the summer of A.D. 79, conquered the Britons of Lancashire, planting garrisons on his northward line of march, and that, as was not unusual, he caused the old British city-fort in Castle Field, Manchester, to be converted into a Roman fortified enclosure, called a *castrum*, camp, or station. This was occupied by the Frisian cohort, and the British occupants would probably be driven forth to construct their dwellings either between Castle Field and Camp Field, or along the line of the present Deansgate, from Knot Mill northward towards the present city. With this brief preface, we call our enthusiastic local painter, Whitaker, to give us, in a few bold outlines, his pictorial and somewhat imaginative portrait of Roman-British Manchester.

The city of Mancenion, from its southerly position, must have been very early exposed to the fury of the Romans. In vain did it present to their arms the steep and scarped mount of its rivulet [the Medlock], the rising eminence of its bank, and the broad extent of its deep ditch. Terrified by the vigour with which Agricola pursued the war, and allured by the kind offers which he made them of peace, the Sistuntii and their northern neighbours ['freed by previous Roman conquests from the dominion of the Brigantes'] submitted, and gave up some of their neighbours as hostages.

The Roman garrison of Mancenion must have begun the construction of their station in the autumn of the year 79. . . . . The old materials . . . . must have supplied the Romans sufficiently with stones. With these they constructed the high strong wall of their *castrum*, heaping them together in a very irregular manner, and only sloping the face of the rampart a little. As the wall was gradually raised from the breadth of seven or eight feet at the base, and was narrowed to one or two feet at the crest, they copiously poured their boiling mortar upon it. The whole course of the *vallum* [or

wall] .... terminated with the line of a platform within, and a coronet of battlements above..... The whole figure of the *castrum* was an irregular parallelogram .... the corners rounded..... Its area was much smaller than the compass of the British town; .... the latter contained nearly 13 statute acres; the former included only about 5a. 10p., or 24,500 square yards. [Its dimensions were, on its northern and southern sides, 175 yards in length; on its eastern and western sides, 140 yards. Whitaker describes the whole of the *vallum* as minutely as if he had seen it erected and had himself measured it; and he tells where the gates were situated in the walls, the great entrance or prætorian gate on the east; the west, north, and south walls having also each its gate. A new ditch was cut from the north-east to the north-west angle of the wall.]

Whitaker gives an engraving of "the ground-plot of the Roman Mancunium" [to which he says the Romans adapted its name from Mancenion] "taken August 8, 1765." It is simply a repetition of the British "ground-plot," with the outline of the smaller Roman *castrum* placed within it, close to the "deep fosse" on its north side.

The garrison appears to have once [and perhaps ordinarily] consisted of a single cohort, ... the First Cohort of Frisians, an auxiliary cohort, ... the first which had been raised amongst the natives of Friesland; and appears, from an inscription discovered in the Castle Field, to have been in garrison there [as an auxiliary to the 20th Legion, which 'garrisoned Deva (or Chester) for nearly two centuries successively']..... If this cohort had its entire complement of men, the garrison of Mancunium must have ordinarily consisted of 762 foot soldiers. But, since about 350 of these must have been regularly absent from the station, and have been fixed upon duty at some distance from it, the real garrison could only have been about 400 men. Eight men out of every century [or company of 100 soldiers] in it, 32 in all, must have continued upon guard in the Castle Field, from six in the evening to six in the morning; being fixed at their posts within the *castrum* by the sound of the trumpet, being relieved every third hour by the sound of the horn, and being kept alert at their posts by the appointed walkers of the rounds.

The whole compass of the area within must have been filled with cabins, constructed of timber upon foundations of stone, and roofed with tiles, shingles, or straw. The prætorium, or pavilion of the commandant, must

have been erected in a superior style. The barracks of the rest must have been raised in regular lines on each side of it. The several cabins of the centurions, and the standards of the centuries, must have risen regularly over the whole. Each cabin of the soldiers was large enough to contain a band of eleven men, and eleven were quartered in each, ten under the government of one, and the latter denominated the dean, or head of the band. Each cabin must have been large enough to contain more, as it is evident from several inscriptions that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. The number of cabins in Mancunium must have been about fifty or sixty in the whole; including the hospital for the sick, the workhouse of the armourers, the magazine for the corn, and the repository for arms. One principal street must have crossed the area obliquely from east to west, and another, a subordinate one, obliquely from north to south. The former must have begun at the Prætorian Gate, have led to the front of the prætorian, and have terminated obliquely behind it at the Decuman Gate. The latter must have commenced at the Water Gate, and have stretched away to the gate which opened into the road for Ribchester. . . . . The open ground of the Castle Field, on three sides around the barrier of the Roman station, must have been applied to a great variety of purposes. Immediately without the *vallum*, and perhaps along the western level, must have been the stables of the officers and the slaughter-houses of the garrison. All around the *vallum*, many of the Roman officers and soldiers appear to have been interred.

Whitaker states that in the beginning of the 17th century a sepulchral stone was found, inscribed "To the shade of the centurion, Candidus Fidesius, aged 20 years — months, and 4 days." He also describes a small urn, and a bason-shaped vessel, with the potter's mark of "Advocisi," which he conjectures to be the Romanised name of the Frisian master potter to the garrison. Whitaker thinks that the place of punishment and execution was just outside the western wall. He also describes another stone bearing an inscription (copied for Camden by Dr. Dee) purporting that "the 1st Cohort of the Frisians placed this sepulchre for Marcus Savo, the centurion, aged 23 years." He states that near the chief pavilion was usually a temple for worship, containing

several altars, and where religious rites were performed. One stone altar he describes 27¼ inches high, which was found in the Medlock near the *castrum*, in 1612, dedicated and inscribed to the goddess "Fortune the Conservatrix, by Lucius Senecianus Martius, a centurion of the 6th Legion Victorious." Many coins, he adds, have been from time to time found about the station, also a large Roman ring of gold, and an iron sword which he says is "undoubtedly Roman." He conjectures that the low level ground or morass outside and west of Castle Field, just under the high bank, and bordered by the Irwell and the Medlock, was the pasture for the cattle of the garrison.

Whitaker is even more diffuse than usual in describing the Roman roads diverging from the *castrum* of Manchester. One going eastward to York commenced from the eastern gate of the station, and, says Whitaker, crossed the Infirmary Lane, passed directly over the site of the Standley Barn, crossed Ancoats Lane, near Shooter's Brook, &c., to Bradford, near Manchester. A second road to the south diverged from that to York, at the border of the Castle Field, and so by Throstle Nest to Stretford, Cross Street, Broad Heath, and Oldfield Hall, near Altrincham. The third Roman road, northwards, left the south road at Throstle Nest, crossed the Irwell at the shallow ford, named Trafford, and crossed the Warrington road and Broomhouse Lane [the Eccles old road] near Hope Hall, and so through Chorlton Fold, Westwood fields, and Drywood, to Shaving Lane. [These four places are in Worsley.] Four other roads, says Whitaker, proceeded from Mancunium, — one to Ribchester, a second to Ilkley, a third to Buxton, and a fourth to Warrington. The first, he says, crossed Camp Field, Quay Street, Deansgate, Hunt's Bank, Strangeways Park, Stony Knolls, Broughton, Kersal Moor, to Prestwich, &c. The second, he thinks, branched from the York Road about Ancoats Lane, and so passed through Moston, Chadderton, &c. The third, he says, commenced at the eastern edge of the Castle Field, between the roads to York and to the south, by Gaythorn, the Garret Lane, and so to Longsight, and crossed

the Mersey at the ford near Stockport. The fourth, diverging from the north road, passed through Eccles and Barton to Warrington. After noticing the directness of all these roads, being nearly straight lines, Whitaker says they had one great defect,—their crossing rivers and streams not by bridges, but by fords, as at Stretford and Stockport over the Mersey, at Knot Mill and Garret over the Medlock, at Trafford over the Irwell, at Hunt's Bank over the Irk, and at Throstle Nest Lane over the Cornbrook. "One of those very rainy nights (he says) which are so common in our Lancashire winters, would raise a considerable depth of water upon the fords, and would fix an absolute bar to travelling. Thus the Roman roads must have been often rendered impassable during the winter for a considerable time." Whitaker states that "six other stations were fixed in the more immediate precincts of Mancunium, for the more immediate purposes of the garrison, to protect their cattle in the pastures, and to secure their convoys upon the roads." Two of these were south of the Mersey; a third at Castle Hill, near Singleton Brook, in Prestwich; a fourth at Raineshow, Kersal; a fifth at Hyle or Hill Wood, in the vale of Broughton and township of Pendleton; and a sixth at Castle Hill beyond Kersal Moor. The two first were for the protection of convoys on the roads; the other four, planted by pairs, for the security of the cattle in the pastures. Lastly, Whitaker assigns the site of Chetham's Hospital or the College, Hunt's Bank, extending over the whole of the site of the Cathedral and its burial ground, as that of the Roman summer camp in Manchester, to which the greater part of the garrison removed from the winter station of Castle Field, in the beginning of summer; its area being covered not with wooden huts, but with the cooler habitations of tents, arranged as in the larger *castrum*. Again, Whitaker gives "a plan of the summer station of Mancunium," drawn to scale (30 yards to the inch) and "inscribed to the Rev. Mr. Aynscough, Fellow of Christ College, Manchester." It represents an irregular arena, with curved boundaries, formed by the Irk on the north, by "the great fosse" or ditch on the east and south in the line of

Todd Street and Hanging Ditch, and by the Irwell on the west; so that it is completely insulated by the rivers and ditch, which encircle it, and its north-west corner is still further enclosed within an inner ditch (along the line of Half Street and Long Millgate), called by Whitaker the prætorian fosse, and this inner area he calls the prætorian fort or citadel. He portrays the Roman road from Castle Field to Ribchester, crossing the area near to and parallel with the Irwell, along the present Hunt's Bank, crossing the great fosse by a drawbridge, protected by a massive gateway, and another solid gate, not far from the Irk, adjoining the rocky bank of the citadel. All beyond the water-metes of this summer camp are continuous woods, open only where the road to Ribchester passes through them. Let Whitaker himself paint the scene:

This was the pleasing impregnable site of the summer camp of the Romans, lined with tall impracticable precipices behind, covered with a fosse enormously deep and broad before, and insulated by the three lively currents of water around it. Where for more than eight successive centuries the public devotions of the town have been regularly preferred to heaven; where for more than twenty successive generations the plain forefathers of the town have been regularly reposited in peace, the Romans once kept their summer residence, and enjoyed the fanning breezes of the west and north. Where the bold barons of Manchester spread out the hospitable board in a rude magnificence of luxury, or displayed the instructive mimicry of war in a train of military exercises; where the fellows of the college studied silently in their respective apartments, or walked conversing in their common gallery [or the cool cloisters of their inner court]; and where young indigence now daily receives the judicious dole of charity, and folds his little hands in gratitude to God for it; — there previously rose the spreading pavilions of the Romans, and there previously glittered the military ensigns of the Frisians.

The town of Manchester was originally constructed in the more immediate neighbourhood of the station [in Castle Field]. A small district which encompasses the Castle Field on three sides is very frequently mentioned in our records as the 'Ald-port,' or Old Borough. Somewhere within the compass of this district must the town have originally stood. A little fold

of houses remains to the present period, bearing the appellation of Aldport-ton, or Old Borough Town. Betwixt the Castle Field and the fold is an area of sixteen or seventeen acres, now converted chiefly into gardens [but since Whitaker wrote, covered with streets and houses] which was certainly the original area of the ancient Manchester. This lies immediately without the northern barriers of the station, and extends up to the new houses and the new church [St. John's] in the Camp Field. . . . . The soil of the southern part of this area is one great body of adventitious earth, fragments of bricks, pieces of hewn stones, and remnants of urns. Huge blocks of a millstone-grit, ... have been recently dug up within the circuit of the area, with mortar firmly adhering to them; and the whole level of the ground appears to have been traversed with streets of regular pavement, in a variety of directions across it. . . . . Upon this plot, then, in the depth of the extensive wood of Arden, were the Sistuntii of this region induced by Agricola to erect a town. They felled the trees, ... laid open the area, and constructed their houses with the timber. The town was undoubtedly erected along the course of the road to Ribchester, commencing near the fosse of the station, extending in one direct street along the road, and afterwards forking off from it into others. . . . . Such was the commencement of a town that was to become so conspicuous afterwards, to lengthen out into fair streets and to open into graceful squares, to contain assembled thousands within her ample circuit, and to extend her varied commerce beyond the barriers of the ocean. The town of Manchester commenced very early in the short reign of the amiable Titus, about the period of the first famous eruption from the flaming Vesuvius, the destruction of Herculaneum, and the death of the elder Pliny, and about the months of September and October in the ever-memorable year 79.

We must postpone the completion of this picture. The foreground and architectural details are shown above; but some accessories are still wanting, and especially the introduction of the human and other figures which give life to the scene.

No. III.

Roman Manchester, by the Rev. J. Whitaker, B.D.

IN the last picture of Roman-British Manchester, its architectural details almost exclusively occupied the canvas. We must now put in requisition the pencil of the same artist to fill in the figures and other accessories of the landscape.

Let us suppose, then, the station at Castle Field, and in its season, the summer camp on Hunt's Bank, peopled with Roman-Friesic soldiers, and near each place a small assemblage of huts of the British natives. Through the surrounding woods and forest ground, straight as the arrow's course, radiated from the central station the Roman roads already enumerated, which, Whitaker says, must all have been formed while Agricola was making and securing his conquests in the north. These roads, he adds, were not carried on by large detachments of the soldiery. The Romans were merely the directors; the more laborious work was imposed upon the natives. Galgacus complained that the Romans were perpetually exhausting the health of the Britons in the painful employment of clearing the woods and of paving the fens of the island. This work done, the politic Agricola induced the natives to leave their abodes in the woods and swamps, and to settle in little communities around the Roman forts or stations. Such was the commencement of the city of Manchester, on the northern bank of the Medlock, near Castle Field. The first business of this native community was to clear the neighbouring woodlands, which were thus converted into meadows, pastures, and corn fields. "The new citizens," says Whitaker, "quickly passed from the conveniences to the refinements, and as quickly deviated into the luxuries, of a town life." Amongst the changes in natural habits and customs, perhaps one of the most observable is in attire. "Within twenty years after the construction of the towns, the British *sagum* [overcoat] was resigned, and the Roman *toga* [robe

or gown] assumed by many of the British chiefs." The dress of the people generally, however, remained unchanged. "The plaided drapery of the Britons must have still displayed its sober variety of colours and its multiplicity of little dies [squares or checks] in the streets of Mancunium, and have formed a pleasing contrast to the dress of the chief, the uniformly dark mantle of the Italian climes." Some few additions to the native dress were made from the fuller wardrobe of the Romans, especially that under-garment, — the *subucula*, British *squird*, skirt or shirt, — at first among the British wearers a jacket of white flannel; but subsequently, says Whitaker, British gentlemen adopted from the Roman ladies the fashion of wearing linen shirts. From the Romans, too, the Britons borrowed the use of stockings or hosen; with the introduction of which the length of the *brages* would be reduced till they terminated about the knee. Whitaker pictures the inroads of luxury among the British city chiefs, in the use of the warm bath, and of the Buxton springs; in the greater elegance and variety of their tables; in the erection of pillared porticoes, and in various new sports and enjoyments ministered to by the arts of civilisation. Their sons (he says) learned Latin and became acquainted with the classic literature of Rome. Of the four orders of Roman towns, Whitaker says, Manchester, like most of those of British origin, was a stipendiary town, subject to provincial rule; governed by a commandant, or præfect, annually elected (the garrison of the station being, however, wholly independent of him, and subject immediately to the prætor); and with him was the quæstor, or receiver of taxes. These were chiefly a burial tax, a capitation or poll tax, a land tax of two shillings in the pound, or one-tenth of the annual produce of everything raised from seed, and four shillings in the pound, or one-fifth of the produce of everything raised from plants; a cattle tax, and some particular charges on commercial imports and exports. These taxes, not heavier in themselves than those previously levied by the native authorities, were yet hateful to the Britons as the badges of foreign dominion. Whitaker congratulates Manchester that it was not

raised to the more elevated position of the *colony* or the *mancipium*, the two higher ranks of Roman towns, which would have driven its native inhabitants into banishment; but it had the privileges of Roman citizenship extended (by Caracalla) to its dwellers, by which the humbler classes were exempted from scourging by rods, and its higher ranks were admitted to a participation of marriages, and a communion of honours, with the Romans. Thus, he adds, "all the citizens of Mancunium, now created citizens of Rome, were empowered to elect their own officers, and were at liberty to be governed by their own townsmen." Suetonius Paulinus describes the conquered Britons as still possessed of their ancient freedom, and still governed by their ancient laws. There were only two ranks of British citizens, the nobles and the villeins [*Bilain* or *Filein*, British, a peasant]; below the latter were the slaves. Land tenures among the Britons, before and after their subjugation by the Romans, were feudal and military. Whitaker supposes that the Romans allowed the Britons to continue under the limited rule of native chiefs or kings, and, as to the administration of the law, under native judges.

As to the useful arts, Whitaker supposes that the Romans established a pottery in Manchester, in which, "under the direction of a Roman or Roman-Frisian master, the Mancunians learned to model their vessels with a lathe, to give them the soft polish of a glazing, and to flourish them with carvings and emboss them with figures. . . . . The Romans possibly very little improved either the wooden bowls, plates, or chairs of the Britons." To the Romans were the Britons indebted for the discovery of native mines of copper and calamine, for the manufacture of brass. As the Roman officers and soldiers who conquered Lancashire slept on beds of straw, from them the Britons (who had hitherto slept on skins) must have adopted this material, and "most of our Mancunian peasants use beds of chaff at present." The old British hearthstone was now changed for a portable fire-pan, raised upon low supporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars. Fuel, till now of wood and turf, included under the Romans charcoal

and fossil coal, of which many traces have been found in the neighbourhood, and which Whitaker thinks was got by the Britons for the use of the garrison, though, from the great breadth of the forests, wood continued to be the principal firing even to the 15th century. The Romans taught the Britons to combine two or three metals together to form pewter. To the native forest trees — the oak, fir, and birch — the Romans added the beech, plane, box, elm, and poplar. To the fruit-trees of the island, the Romans are said to have added the pear, the damson or damascene plum, the cherry, peach, apricot and quinces, also the mulberry, the chestnut, the fig, service, and medlar. To the flower-garden they contributed the rose, lily, violet, thyme, rosemary, poppy, &c. To the kitchen garden they added the radish, asparagus, cucumber, melon, peas and beans, lettuce, mint, beet, fennel, &c. The Romans also introduced the vine into Britain in the second or third century, and Whitaker even guesses at the particular variety, viz., the Black Muscadine. To them the natives were indebted for the production of wine from the juice of the grape, cider from the apple, and perry from the pear. To the British hand-mill, or quern, the Romans added the water-mill, "one of which (says Whitaker) was certainly erected at Mancunium, serving equally the town and the garrison." He describes its site on the Medlock. Besides the home baking of the women on "griddles," an oven was in use by the British chief and his retainers, and one public oven, he supposes, was established near the Roman station of Mancunium. In live stock, the British owe to the Romans a larger breed than the native horses, and the introduction of the saddle. They also brought hither the ass and the mule; harriers and spaniels. In food, the Romans greatly extended the range and variety of that hitherto in use. They removed the proscription of hares, geese, poultry, and fish; they first fattened oysters and fed fish in ponds; and they imported rabbits, pheasants, cuckoos, pigeons, partridges, plovers, turtle-doves, and peacocks. In sports they introduced hunting the hare with dogs, the rabbit with ferrets, and the fighting of trained cocks.

Whitaker then speculates on the growth of the British town, about the Roman station, in three centuries and a half of Roman residence. To the one original street which extended along the road of the Romans (which he calls Ribchester-street) others must have been gradually annexed, and have shot out on the east, west, and north. From comparatively recent discoveries of pavements in the space between Castle and Camp Fields, Whitaker constructs "a plan of the original town of Manchester about A.D. 300." It shows Ribchester Street extending northwards, from the great fosse on the north side of the station to Ticklepitcher Lane, which flanks Camp Field to the south. There are two parallel streets at distances of 100 yards east and west, and these three streets are intersected by as many cross streets, at distances of 40 yards, and each about 230 yards in length, which is also the length of Ribchester Street. In one of the oblong spaces enclosed by these paved streets (which streets are supposed to be about five yards in width), Whitaker pictures the ancient market-place of Manchester in the third and fourth centuries. The houses in these streets, he says, were of wood, "and must have been raised only a single storey above the ground floor;" some of them having cellars. The Romans first added chimneys, and roofed with straw, or with board shingles, in place of reeds; and he thinks that about this period would be introduced the white slate-stone for roofing. The windows of most of the houses would be of oiled paper; the better kind having lattices of wood or sheets of linen. Water from the wells was raised either by a pole as a lever, or by a common winch. To the Romans were due the introduction into Britain of two time-measurers, the sun-dial and the water-clock. Amongst the artificers and traders of the little town of Manchester were the brazier, tinman, glazier, ironmonger, plumber, farrier, turner, apothecary, barber, &c. To these the Romans added the mercer, the fuller, the tavern-keeper, &c.

For ages before the Roman invasion, says Whitaker, the Britons were not possessed of any British alphabet; and "the Roman alphabet was assuredly the first that had ever been introduced into

Lancashire. Latin seems to have been generally spoken by the Britons, and their sepulchral inscriptions, even after the departure of the Romans, are uniformly in the Roman language." Many Britons were levied for the foreign service of the Romans, and were sent to different parts of the continent; others were for the service of the Romans at home, and were sent to the armies in action or to the garrisons on the borders. Though formed into cohorts, the Romans left them to follow their own discipline in war; but from constant intermixture, British officers acquired, and occasionally introduced, the Roman disposition in battle.

Whitaker conjectures that an imperfect woollen manufacture had been imported into Lancashire from Gaul before the Roman conquest, which manufacture was probably carried by the Romans nearly to that degree of perfection at which it was prosecuted among us two or three centuries ago. The Romans also introduced the linen manufacture, and first planted flax in Britain, and introduced hemp here. Thongs of leather they superseded by a cordage of rushes. To them were due a stronger description of vessels, with hempen sails and cordage; the manufacture and use of paper and parchment, and the extracting of salt from the brine pits and salt springs. After pointing out that the introduction of the Roman power, influence, and manners into Britain gradually sapped, undermined, and destroyed the old Druidical superstitions, Whitaker says that Christianity "was introduced into Britain as early as the period of the Apostles, ... about the middle of the second century it must have reached the confines of Lancashire; . . . . and the sons and daughters of Mancunium commenced [became] the disciples of Christ." He asserts that episcopacy was established coeval with Christianity, and that the county of Lancaster and the parish of Manchester "were subject equally to the civil authority and to the ecclesiastical supremacy of York."

Whitaker describes the great change in the disposition of the Roman forces in Britain towards the close of the fourth century. The ravages of the Picts and Scots in the northern parts of England, led to the Romans breaking up many of their encamp-

ments, deserting nearly all their stationary forts in the centre of the island, and on the western coast, and filing off to the eastern shore and the northern wall. "In the year 394, therefore, the Romans broke up their long-continued encampment in the Castle Field and upon the site of the Collegiate Church and College House at Manchester; the first cohort of the [Frisians] marching away into the north, and finally leaving us just 315 years from the original settlement of the Romans in the Castle Field and the original erection of Mancunium in the field of Aldport; about 450 from the original construction of Mancenion, and about 900 from the original habitation of the parish and the county."

In a sort of summary of this period of our local history, which he entitles "The Conclusion," Whitaker gives us this picture of Roman Manchester:

The Romans now land upon the island, reduce the reluctant tribes of the Britons, and advance into Lancashire. They penetrate into the woods of our Arden. They first introduce .... war into the parish. They take Mancenion. A new spirit and an additional vigour now actuate the woodland. A regular fortress is constructed upon the Castle Field; another about a mile to the north of it. The site of the present town is now first cleared in part of its primitive oaks, and now first receives a colony of inhabitants upon it, — a colony only transitory in its nature, and existing only during the continuance of the summers. The most north-westerly part of the forest is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle, and four little fortresses are planted for their protection within it. The whole forest is intersected with large broad roads on every side, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and all converging to one common point at the Castle Field..... A regular town is now laid out in the bosom of the forest .... near the Castle Field, and a neighbouring [native or British] baron and his clan are now ['autumn of A.D. 79'] settled within it. The fortress in the Castle Field becomes the citadel of the adjoining borough. Beneath the happy auspices of the Roman genius in Britain, that living principle of population which had faintly quickened before at the centre of the forest, now becomes active and vigorous, and diffuses its influence on every side. The beasts are dislodged to a greater distance from Mancunium. The receding forest curves in an ample amphitheatre of woods around it.

All the mechanical arts are successfully transplanted into the wilds of our Arden. Civility [? civilisation], literature, and politeness follow. Christianity closes the rear.

Our local artist has failed to bring out, in due prominence of position and vividness of colour, the national or tribal character of the half-Romanised Teutons, who, as the garrison of Manchester, exacted compulsory road-labour and various local taxes from the British inhabitants; and who, to some extent, by intermarriage and the closest social intercourse, must have left, in three centuries of colonial occupation, a deep and lasting impress on the place and its people. This must form the subject of a separate sketch.

No. IV.

Roman-Friesic Manchester, by James Black, Esq., M.D.

SUPPLEMENTARY to the sketch by Whitaker of the garrison of Roman Manchester, which errs in being too exclusively Roman, we append a carefully-delineated portraiture of the first cohort of Frisians, from the hand of James Black, Esq., M.D., of Manchester and Bolton.

In addition to the three legions which the Romans had in this island, and the legionary cohorts attached to them, which, it is presumed, were all composed of Roman citizens, or those under the immediate government of Rome, there were also bodies of auxiliary troops, formed into cohorts, raised by conscription and enrolment out of the provinces that were more recently conquered by that power, and subjected to tribute. Of these auxiliary forces, somewhat similar to the Cossacks in Russia, or our own Sepoy regiments in India, there were several drawn from the different tribes in the north and west of Germany, and who afterwards served in Britain. . . . . The garrison which Agricola stationed at Mancunium on his march to the north [in A.D. 79] appears to have consisted of an auxiliary

cohort of Frisians, and was, in all probability, a part of the auxiliaries of the 20th Legion at Chester — being one of the eight auxiliary cohorts annexed to the ten of the legion, which always accompanied the legion in war, and were disposed within the precincts of the station in peace.

After citing some inscriptions from Whitaker, (which we have already given,) as showing the presence of the 1st cohort of Frisians in the Roman station here, Dr. Black continues:

Among other remains of Roman antiquities, dug up in Castle Field, in 1828, now deposited at Worsley Hall, and depicted in Baines's *Lancashire*, there is one of an oblong brick or tile, on which are engraved the capital letters — F C XXVV, which Mr. Baines interprets as 'Fecit Cohors Vicesima Valens Victrix' (the 20th cohort, valiant and victorious, made it); but as this cannot be correct, from no cohorts of the Romans being ever numbered 20, as 10 was the full complement of the legion, and as the verb is believed to be never placed first in an inscription, I should rather be inclined to read this one 'Frisia Cohors Vicesimæ Valentis Victricis,' the Frisian cohort of the 20th [legion], with its title ['valiant, victorious,'] which was the legion at Chester. Or rather, F. C. are the initials of some one who lived 25 years — 'XXV. [annos] Vixit.'

It appears from Camden, Horsley, and the *Notitia*, that the first cohort of the Frisians remained at Mancunium from the summer of the year 79 to the year 394, being upwards of three centuries, until it was transferred to *Vindobala* (Rutchester) on the line of the wall of Severus. . . . . During that long period this Frisian cohort kept up its entire complement of men, and the garrison at Mancunium must have ordinarily consisted of 762 foot soldiers, one-third of whom were inferred to have been stationed in the surrounding forts.

After citing other inscriptions, — one at Bradfield, showing apparently that there was a 1st cohort of old or veteran Frisians; and another at Bowness, Richmondshire, recording a 4th Frisian cohort then in England, — Dr. Black continues:

As Tacitus says that the wives and children of the legionary troops accompanied and were allowed to settle with them, so, in a series of years, the numbers in the colonies must have greatly increased; . . . . it is more than probable that the auxiliary cohorts would in some measure incorporate

themselves with the natives here, whose customs, manners, and language would be less dissimilar to those of the German and Batavian cohorts than to those of the Romans. But whence came these Frisians?

It appears that the native Frisians, at the beginning of the Christian era, inhabited the whole country between the *Amisia* or [river] Ems, and the Eastern Rhine, Yssel or Isaal; but, during the decline of the Roman power, they, or at least tribes bearing their name, extended themselves over a much wider space of country, even as far as the middle Rhine, along the banks of the Maas to its junction with the Waal. . . . . The Frisian province, then, included not only modern Friesland, but also all the country round the north and west of the fresh water lake, then called 'Lacus Flevum' [now enlarged and become the Zuyder Zee], and along the coast of North Holland to the mouth of the Rhine, as may be seen in the maps of Alting.

Tacitus relates that about A.D. 28, the Frisians, a people dwelling beyond the Rhine, broke out into open acts of hostility [goaded into despair by their Roman governor Olennius exacting that their tribute of raw hides should be gauged, as to size and weight, by the hides of the large forest bulls of Germany; the Frisian cattle being small]. The Frisians groaned under this oppressive demand; and seeing first their cattle, then their lands, taken, and finally their wives and children carried away into slavery, in despair they took up arms and seized and hung the tax-gatherers; Olennius escaping. This righteous revenge soon brought upon them the whole force of the Romans from the Upper Rhine; but after having successfully defeated [their oppressors] in two battles, wherein the Romans lost 1,300 men, the Frisians freed their country from the despotic rule of the Romans. Their name, says Tacitus, became in consequence celebrated throughout Germany. Alting says that the Latins called them 'Frisios,' which in German signifies 'free.' They had their own kings, called so by the Romans, and acknowledged as legates by the Emperors. In the reign of Nero, the Frisians, having observed the inactivity of the Roman armies, first sent their weak, through age or sex, to places of safety across the lakes, and then marched with the flower of their young men, through woods and morasses, towards the Lower Rhine, where they took possession of a large tract of vacant country, appropriated to the Roman soldiers. Their leading chiefs, Verritus and Malorix, laid out their habitations, and they began to cultivate the soil and to sow their lands, as if they were in their native country. The Roman governor having threatened to attack them if they did not evacuate the country, the Frisian chiefs set out for Rome to seek redress.

Nero granted them the privileges of Roman citizens; but declared that the Frisians must depart from their newly occupied lands. They refused to submit, however, and all who resisted were either put to the sword or made prisoners. . . . . While the chiefs were at Rome, and visiting Pompey's theatre, Tacitus says that they saw seated in a place of honour among the Roman knights and senators, a few persons in strange costume, who they were told were ambassadors from foreign states. The Frisian chiefs, deeply offended, declared that in valour and integrity the Germans were second to none: they rose abruptly, and at once took their seats amongst the senators. Dr. Leemans thinks that from about 50 years before Christ, they were in much favour with the Romans as auxiliary troops, and were of fidelity so approved, that Nero (as is attested by two inscriptions) selected them for his body guard; and they also served as *equites singulares*, or cavalry life-guards, in the time of the Emperor Aurelius. . . . . During the Consulship of Vespasian, the Frisians, in combination with other tribes, were again found in active and successful warfare against the Roman legions in Lower Germany, and were distinguished for their bravery. When the confederacy broke up, the Frisians probably consented to live in peace and alliance with the Romans, on the terms of some slight tribute and furnishing levies of soldiers for the Roman armies. After this period they seem to have been fairly treated; neither insulted with taxes, nor harassed by revenue officers; free from burdens and imposts, they were reserved for the day of battle — a nursery of soldiers. . . . . From this remote period down to the present age, the Frieslanders have been distinguished by the same ardent love of liberty and independence. Cluverius, in his *Germania Antiqua*, says, 'the Frisians were long exercised in the German wars, their fame being much increased in Britain from the cohorts that were transported there, and which by an ancient statute were commanded by the most noble of the commonalty. . . . . The Frisian nation were most free, except when, on few occasions, under Roman supremacy.' They formed the first association of the 'Free Germans,' and the nucleus and cradle of the Free Franks. They resisted, under Duc Gerolfus, the despotism of the Saxo-Frisian warrior, Charlemagne, from whom, according to their own statement, they secured the following civil and political rights:—'First, freedom of every order of citizens. Secondly, right of property—a right which admitted no authority of the sovereign to violate by confiscation, except in cases of downright treason. Thirdly, the privilege of trial by none but native judges, and according to national usages. Fourthly, a very narrow limitation of the

military services which they owed to the king. Fifthly, an hereditary title to feudal property in a direct line, on payment of certain dues and rents.' These five principal articles sufficed to render Friesland, in its political aspect, totally different from the other portions of the monarchy.' Grattan, in his *History of the Netherlands*, says that 'these special advantages produced a government analogous to that which *Magna Charta* was the means of founding, at a later period, in England.'

As showing remarkable traits of national characteristics, we note a few more facts relating to the Frisians in later times. In the first crusade, the fleet of Richard Cœur de Lion was manned and conducted by Frisians and Danes; hardy mariners, with the three-fold qualifications of stoutness of body and limbs, an indomitable mind, and a devoted energy and honour. (*Iter of Richard the King).* During the crusades, the Friesic soldiers were on all occasions the first to mount the breach or lead the charge; and the Pope's nuncio was forced to prohibit the women of Friesland from embarking for the Holy Land, so anxious were they to share the perils and glory of their husbands and brothers. The Frisians spurned the yoke imposed by the German Emperors and Counts of Holland; they were among the first who threw off the Inquisition; they generally embraced the opinions of Luther; and, when Holland, Germany, and Italy submitted to the sway of Napoleon, the people of East Friesland resisted his oppressive conscriptions. Grattan, speaking of their earlier history, says: "The spirit of liberty burst forth in all their proceedings, and they were justified in calling themselves *Vrie Vriesia:* Free Frisians. . . . . But so difficult a thing was it to be understood what liberty is, that Froissart, about 1380, said the Frisians were a most unreasonable race, for not recognising the authority and power of the great lords. . . . . In 1493, the Frisians had again to fight for their rights against Philip, son of Maximilian.

As to their physical characteristics, Tacitus does not specify the Frisians, but in describing the German people at large in their various tribes, he says they have nearly the same form and feature, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour;

thirst and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger. On the other hand, according to Emmius (*Reri Frisicarum*) the Frisians were neither in manners nor dress like any of the other German tribes. They were of a tall race; wore their hair short; and, if we may judge from the prints in his work, they had not light eyes, nor a fair complexion. From what we ourselves [Dr. B.] have seen of some of the natives of the coast of modern Friesland, as well as in the islands of Beveland, many of them are tall, but neither muscular nor well formed; they have dark complexions, spare limbs, and long and rather flattish feet — which characteristics are generally found among those inhabiting flat and marshy countries; and among several of the natives of this district [of Lancashire] may be noticed much similitude of form and feature to those of West Friesland and Beveland.

Next as to the language or dialect spoken by the Frisian garrison of Mancunium. Emmius says the Frisian language had a distinctive variety of dialects, and even within a few miles there were three or four idioms. On the whole it had cognate similitude to the Anglian, nor does it approach so near that of any other nation. It had many diphthongs, its pronunciation is difficult, and the writing of it is much more so, whence there are few mentions of it in books. . . . . Without doubt, I think that in the army of Hengist and Horsa, which was led by them into Britain, there were more Frisians than Saxons; and I am the more certainly convinced from the greater similarity which the Anglian language has with ours (the Frisian) than with the Saxon, or any other of the German tongues.

The names of places in Lancashire have been generally derived from the Anglo-Saxon, but there is every appearance of many of them having a more near derivation from, and analogy to, the Frisian. A Mr. Brown, who had resided in Friesland for seven years, says the name Lancashire is more likely to be derived from the Frieslanders than the Saxons. The name is *Loncascyre* in the Saxon map of Camden, which Mr. Brown draws from Friesic *Lon-cas-skär*. So with the Hundred of Salford, called by the Saxons *Sal-ford-shire*, which Mr. Brown says was probably called *Saal-land*, and the Irwell the *Saal* or *Saala* — the *Salii* being one of the tribes inhabiting the district upon the Yssel or ancient *Sala*. He would compare the Lancashire Sal-wick, Ker-sal, Hall-sal, Ord-sal, &c., with the derivatives from the ancient *Sala*, in modern Friesland in Over-Yssel, *Alder-sale*, *Oudensale*, &c. So the *bent* of Lancashire, as Chow-bent, Chequer-bent, &c., may be compared with the Friesic *bent* (*i. e.* swampy heath) in Bent-heim,

Bent-ham, Bent-ing. In Friesland, as with us, a lake is called a *meer*. The Zuyder-Zee is called in Friesic and Belgic dialects the *Meer-Zee* or lake-sea; and the old spelling of the River Mersey was *Mer-see*, it being anciently supposed to be a salt-water lake, with an outlet into the estuary of the Dee. Mr. Brown remarks on the resemblance in the names of Friesic places ending in *hague* or *haga*, with those in Lancashire, ending in *halgh*, *haigh*. Dr. Black gives lists of English words which are derived from the Friesic or kindred dialects, and not from Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Bosworth, in his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, regards the Friesic as absolutely indispensable in determining, as far as it is now possible, the genuine pronunciation of the Anglo-Saxon, and adds: 'There are but few Anglo-Saxon names which were not to be found in use among the Frisians. . . . . On the east side of East Frisia lies a small tract of country, inclosed by the Ems and the Lee, which, from its marshy ground, is inaccessible during several months of the year; it is called Sagelter-land or Sater-land, where Friesic is still spoken. In this retired spot, many thousand words represent the true source of Friesic speech.' [He instances, Sagel. *ji;* Friesic, *ja;* English, yes; *liddel*, *lyts*, little; *slepen*, *sliepe*, to sleep; *twe*, *twa*, two: *fiaurtin*, *fjirtin*, fourteen; and *miede*, *miede*, meadow.] At least 100,000 people speak the language commonly called the country Friesic, which, on comparison, will be found to possess more true Anglo-Saxon sounds than any other dialect. . . . . A great many of the proper names of the Frisians are become familiar names in English, by adding *son*. Thus *Watse*, *Ritse*, *Hodse*, *Gibbe*, *Hoatse*, &c., become *Watse-son*, &c., and, by contraction, Watson, Ritson, Hodson, Gibson, Hoatson. . . . . The Anglo-Saxon words *maeg*, *daeg*, *weg*, *cæg*, were changed into may, day, way, and key; but of which the Englishman will scarcely discover anywhere similitudes, unless he goes to his nearest kinsmen, the Frisians, where he will find *mei*, *dei*, *wei*, *kei*. Palgrave, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, says that 'a dialect closely allied to the Anglo-Saxon was spoken in England long before the arrival of the last invaders—the late Saxons. This language was the Belgic. . . . . The resemblance between the Friesic and Anglo-Saxon languages often amounts to absolute identity.'

Having thus traced the history, sketched the external appearance, and shown the language spoken by the Friesic regiment during 300 years of occupation of the garrison here, let us try to realise how far the residence of 600 or 700 foreign soldiers, with

their wives and families, for so long a period, affected, or would be likely to influence, the existing and succeeding population and language of the district. Camden says: "We have good reason to believe that the Romans and Britons, during a course of so many centuries, gladly united into one people, when the Ubii in Germany, twenty years after a colony was settled among them, answered concerning the Roman settlers, 'This is the common country of those who settled here, who are united to us by marriage, as well as their issue.' If the Ubii and Romans, in so short a time, considered each other as parents, as brothers and children, what must we think of the Britons and Romans, united for so many years? .... I cannot help reflecting how many Roman colonies were transferred hither, how many Roman soldiers were continually sent over here into garrisons, and how many other persons to take care of their own affairs, or those of the state, here, who intermarried and settled here, and formed families. For, as Seneca says—'The Romans settle wherever they occupy.'" How much more complete and sustained (observes Dr. Black) must have been the incorporation of the Frisian cohort and their followers with the more original inhabitants of the district during the nearly 300 years that the cohort was stationed permanently here, and supplied with fresh recruits [? from Frisia] to maintain it always in full force.

Mr. Whitaker .... seems to have overlooked any amalgamation of languages during the three centuries, except between the Romans and the British; while the probability is that little Roman would be spoken at Mancunium, but from the lips of the commander of the cohort and the chief collectors of the taxes. The whole oral intercourse between the cohort and their followers, including the centurions (who were native officers), would be in the Frisian tongue, which would be gradually disseminated and used among the native tribes, who would naturally study and adopt the language and modes of their conquerors and governors. .... Mr. Whitaker bestows no notice on the dress of either the armed cohort nor their Frisian attendants, connections, and children. .... Yet the Frisians had, during many generations, as soldiers, artists, manufacturers and traders, a preponderating

influence in Lancashire, so that this part of England might be considered by the Germans the Friesland of Britain. . . . . After the conquest of Lancashire by the Romans, the most fertile portions would be seized by the imperial government and given to Italian or stipendiary soldiers. . . . . The native Frisians would estimate at a higher value the lands in this climate than those would do who were born under a warmer sun. . . . . Hence, in all probability, proceeds the preponderance of Frisian or Gothic names in Lancashire, with only here and there one of Roman origin. Equally rare are British or Celtic appellations. . . . . By remaining in the country, on the retirement of the Roman forces, the Frisians would feel no disruption of their associations with their fatherland and their relatives. Having acquired more or less property from the military privileges of the parent cohort, they would probably prefer remaining, under these circumstances, in a country possessing many physical features of wood, marsh, river, and estuary, so similar to those of their native Friesland; and besides, they would probably perceive, that, from affinity of language and social institutions, they would soon manage to incorporate themselves with their Saxon invaders, if they even did not recognise among them some of their distant kindred or maritime acquaintances. [They do not seem to have resisted the Saxons in their inroads.] Mr. Whitaker says the Mancunians always submitted, while the station at Deva [Chester, which was almost purely Roman] is known to have withstood some sieges. . . . . That many of the inhabitants of South Lancashire, especially in the rural and inland districts, have long (and to this day) shown a distinctive variety of form, feature, and vernacular dialect, from those in the other counties of England, has been remarked by not a few observers.

In conclusion, Dr. Black,—after taking into account the ravages of the Danes, the Norman proscriptions, the influx of woollen weavers, *temp.* Edward III., the Flemish immigration from the low countries in 1567, and even the multitudinous additions from all parts of the kingdom and from various parts of Europe and America, within the last half century (amounting to one-fifth of the whole population),—thinks that "the aboriginal [Frisian] yet stands confessed, though in fading lineaments, among the rest of his species, and is among the first in bodily energy and mental activity, in industrious enterprise and manual dexterity; while

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his fair countrywomen still preserve the proverbial witchery of their charms."

In a large part of ancient Friesland the language has left no traces behind it in the present day. The nearest resemblance to it on the one hand, and to our own English on the other, is the East Friesian tongue of the 13th and 14th centuries. A specimen of this (taken from the Asega book of the philologist Wiarda) will complete our picture of the language of the Friesian cohort of ancient Manchester :—

Thit rjucht skref God selva use Hera; tha' thet was thet Moyses
This right (*i.e.* law) wrote God's self our Lord; then that was that Moses
latte thet Israhelitske folk thruch thene Rada Se, and of there wilda wostene
led the Israelitish folk through the Red Sea, and on the wild wastes
and se komon to tha' berge ther is beheten Synay. Tha' festade Moyses
and they came to the mountain that is called Sinai. Then fasted Moses
twia fiuvertich dega and nachta; therefter jef God him twa' stenena tefla
two (and) forty days and nights; thereafter gave God him two stone tables
ther hi on eskrivin hede tha' tian bodo, tha skolde hi' lera tha
there he on written had the ten laws, that should he learn (teach) the
Israheliska folke.
Israelitish folk.

No. V.

Saxon Manchester. By the Rev. John Whitaker, B.D.

THE Rev. John Whitaker states that the Britons, long before the departure of the Romans, had all the arts considerably improved among them. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries they extracted a rich variety of metals from the beds of minerals; and in the 6th they erected a number of strong and lofty structures, of stone and brick, in no inelegant style. Mines were

worked with great skill, and towns were decorated with baths, temples, market places, and porticoes. Our architects were so good and numerous that Constantine sent a body of them into Gaul, to rebuild the ruined Augustodunum [Autun] with the greater magnificence. Riches were universally diffused throughout the kingdom. But the ravages of the Picts and Scots, and of two destructive wars, the Saxon and Danish, and the two settlements of these "rude and ferocious foreigners" amongst us, threw Lancashire and the parish of Manchester, and indeed the whole country, three or four centuries back in the progress of improvement; re-plunging the people in a state of ignorance and barbarism, from which (says Whitaker) we never emerged entirely till the 15th or 16th century. He adds that the Saxons became masters of all Lancashire about the year 488. When they seized Manchester, they threw a body of troops into the British castle (the old Roman station, with its walls raised and a castle erected within it), and gave the command of them to one Torquin, who is said by tradition to have been a giant in size and a monster in brutality. Passing by the victories of King Arthur over the Saxons in Lancashire, and the successes of the Saxons after his death, we come to the picture which Whitaker has drawn of Manchester under Saxon rule.

The town consisted of eight or nine streets, probably, before the departure of the Romans; as many as it subsequently possessed even to the 14th century. At the entrance of the Saxons neither could the buildings of the town have been increased, nor its circle of cultivation have been enlarged, owing to the ravages of war. The Saxons took as conquerors two-thirds of the houses in the town, and two-thirds of the land in the country. The town, with its surrounding wood of Arden, was held by one chief or lord, and his manor-house or seat was called the Baron's Hull or Yard, on the site of Chetham's hospital and library, at the confluence of the Irwell and Irk. Its area was 12½ acres; and it was distant a mile from the then town at Aldport. As population gathered around the new centre, the lord built a mill on the fosse at

the foot of Old Millgate. A hanging bridge was thrown over the fosse or Hanging Ditch. The colony of Saxons that settled with their chief in the parish of Manchester would receive allotments of land from him; his own immediate vassals entering on the houses already erected, and the lands already cultivated, in the town and township of Manchester. In this way the forest of Arden was levelled and parcelled out, on every side, and many new townships arose. The districts first won from the woods were Salford, Cheetham, Newton, Ardwick, and Chorlton Row; these being the nearest and earliest townships in the precincts of Manchester. Whitaker derives their names thus: The *Sal* or mansion at the ford over the Irwell, Chet-ham and Cheorl-tun, from the names of their occupiers; the New-tun, and the Arden-*wic* or village. Gradually arose the more distant townships of Stret-ford, Chorlton-Hardy, Withington, Rushulme, Gorton, and Droylsden, about the year 620; their names being taken from the ford of the Mersey in the line of the street or Roman road, the habitations of Saxon holders, Cheorl, Dreol, and Witha; the *holme* on the Rush-brook, and the habitation on the Gore-brook. Kirkman's-hulme (Whitaker thinks) dates from 627. Thus, he says, were the thickets of Manchester laid open by the Saxons, the wild beasts dislodged, and many districts recovered from the waste; and eleven townships annexed to that of Manchester. The Saxon proprietors would also appropriate two-thirds of the villeins and thralls of the Britons; and in time conquerors and conquered would become incorporated into one,—a mingled mass of Saxon Britons and British Saxons. Then with the Barony and the Manor of Manchester came Courts-Baron and Courts-Leet, the Borough Court or the Port-Mote, the burgh-gerefa or borough-reeve and other authorities over the inhabitants, as the lord's steward, bailiff, &c.; court-house, prison, gallows, stocks, pillory, ducking-pond and stool, whipping-cart, bridles for scolds, and all the system of Saxon feudal laws and punishments. The Saxon Baron or lord of Manchester was the little sovereign of his subject lands; receiving as his revenue his heriots, reliefs, and

escheats from his tenants in general; and upon his demesne tenants levying his tenths, and receiving his returns in kind (boon gifts and services) and his money payments or rents. He also had the fines from his courts, the three capital aids, and occasional talliages, with further payments from his mill, his oven or bake-house, his woods, fisheries, &c. A weekly Saturday market existed here from time immemorial. Watch and ward of the town was maintained by the Saxons; and it was very necessary, because of its timber buildings and narrow streets,—a few burgesses watching every night of the year, by turns. The burgesses paid to the lord 12d. each for their burgages or holdings in the borough or town; and also had to grind their corn at the lord's mill and bake their bread at the lord's oven; paying a small tax in money or kind. The baron's hall, like the parish church, was of timber. It was quadrangular, enclosing a small area, or cloister court; and consisted of a great hall, and a number of smaller rooms and chambers. In its outer court, the retainers and others would be exercised in arms and horsemanship; hunting and hawking being favourite pursuits of the time; within doors spinning, needlework and household affairs (including brewing, baking, &c.) would occupy the lady of the house, her daughters, and her maids. The baron went forth in the morning to the chase, or the hunting party, attended by his knights and esquires on horseback, and a retinue of yeomen and servants on foot. The feats of the field generally concluded with festivities in the baron's hall, which too often were characterised by the excesses of intemperance,—a vice which prevailed among the Saxon races.

As the Romans had converted the British name of the place "*Mancenion*" into "*Mancunium*," so now the Saxons changed this into "*Manige-ceaster*," or Manchester, by which it has ever since been known, and which it will doubtless keep, so long as the place itself exists. The Saxons, when they first settled in Lancashire and Manchester, were heathens; but Edwin, whom Whitaker calls "King of Northumbria and conqueror of Manchester," is stated to have been baptised by Paulinus, together

with all his barons, and amongst them the Baron of Manchester, and no fewer than 12,000 of the people, at York, with great solemnity and ceremony on Easter Sunday (April 12), A.D. 627. Thus, says Whitaker, Christianity once more became the popular religion of the manor of Manchester, and within seven years only after the reduction of it by Edwin. The Britons (Christians already) saw their fellow-citizens and lords converted to the same religion with themselves. The British parish of Manchester, he says, was undoubtedly laid out before the year 446; at the Saxon conquest, the British parish priest would remain with his people in Manchester; and on the conversion of the Northumbrians, seven years afterwards, the old parish of the Britons (the seignory or lordship of Manchester) would become the new one of the Saxons. The ancient manor and original parish of Manchester were coterminous, extending over the present township and parish of Ashton-under-Lyne, then only a member of the parish and manor of Manchester. The whole parish was skirted by the parishes of Eccles and Flixton on the west, and washed by the currents of the Mersey and the Tame on the south; it extended up to the hills of Saddleworth on the east, and bordered upon the parish of Prestwich to the north. The original parish of Manchester was a level but irregular area of 55 or 60 miles in circumference; the longest diameter crossing from east to west, and being about 12 or 13 miles in extent; and the shortest running from S.W. to N.E., and being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The town was situated near the northern and western borders of the parish; the boundaries of Prestwich ranging within three miles, and those of Eccles within one, from the town; and the limits of Flixton, Cheadle, Stockport, and Rochdale, lying at the distances respectively of five, eight and eleven miles from it.

Whitaker, after stating that the Roman-British town naturally clustered round the station or winter camp of the Romans at Castle Field, and so became the Ald-port, or old town, asserts that when the Saxon lord took up his abode in Manchester, he built his manor-house about a mile north of Aldport, on the site

of the summer camp of the Romans, at the confluence of the Irwell and Irk at Hunt's Bank. Naturally the Saxon church was erected near the lord's house, and the houses of the lord's retainers, and the burghers or burgesses generally, would cluster around the baron's hall and the parish church. The old town gradually fell into decay, while the new one (on its present site) gradually increased. The old British church of St. Michael's, Whitaker says, was at Aldport. The new Saxon one of St. Mary's was built in or near the present St. Mary's Gate; the old rectory-house being in Deansgate. The first streets or ways of the new town were the present lines of Deansgate and St. Mary's Gate. The field adjoining St. Mary's Gate and Church became the site of the new Market-place, which extended along the line of the Smithy Door. The street to the Baron's mill on the fosse was called the Millgate, and when the mill was transferred to the Irk, the road to it was called Long Millgate, and the other Old Millgate. A blacksmith having erected a forge near the bottom of Deansgate and the bank of the Irwell, this was called Smithy Bank, and the road leading to it from the Market Place, Smithy Door. These streets, says Whitaker, were pretty certainly laid out before the year 875; and they continued to form the core and centre of the town as late as the 18th century. The old Acres Field (of which the present St. Ann's Square formed a part), about six and a half statute acres in area, was the original (St. Mary's) church yard of the new town; and on the erection of St. Ann's Church, and again in 1742, many bones were found on the old site. Old St. Mary's Church, says Whitaker, was of wood; and, till the seventh century, every church in England had its windows merely latticed with wood, or covered with sheets of linen. One or more bells were hung in most churches in Saxon times. The churches of this period in the north of England had no chancel, and were probably nearly square; consisting of a body only, called the nave (from *Navis*, a ship); the first church in the north which had a chancel and *alæ*, aisles, or wings to the body, being that of Hexham, built in 673. The Parish Church of Manchester had for its

support the *tithes*, *church-shot* (a sort of house-tax); *plough alms* (a penny for every plough-land in the parish); *light-shot* or *candle-money* (a halfpenny worth of wax for each hide or carucate of land at Easter, All Saints, and Candlemas); which last, says Whitaker, still remains in the parish of Manchester at present, being a half-penny for every house, and denominated the *wax-money*; *soul-shot*, a burial fee, paid at the open grave, to the church to which the deceased belonged; and *oblations*, a considerable branch of church emolument. The church of Manchester was also endowed with a long and triangular piece of land, about six statute acres, of which the greater part still bears the name of The Parsonage. The carucate of land at first given to Manchester church, as stated in the Domesday survey, was the little township of Kirkman's Hulme, which was held by the Kirk-man or rector, and had an area of 239A. 2R. 39P., statute measure; from which Whitaker supposes that the old carucate was 240 statute acres. These church lands were exempt from all secular services and exactions, save Danegeld. Whitaker states that St. Michael's Church, Aldport, and St. Mary's in the gate of that name, had each its festival or celebration of the day of the saint to whom it was dedicated, which gradually came to be held as annual wakes, feasts, or fairs, and were the origin of the Knot Mill fair and the Acres fair. St. Michael's day, in Saxon times, was the 15th day after Easter Sunday, and the Assumption of the Virgin, called "St. Mary's feast," was the 15th August. Each fair was then held for two days only. All tolls and customs of the fairs, and of the weekly Saturday market, were paid to the lord of the manor. Such is the picture of Manchester as drawn by Whitaker; who calls Ald-port-ton the Roman city, and the newer town of Manchester the Saxon borough, which he says was founded in the year 627. He has engraved in his *History of Manchester* two plans of the town, as he supposes it to have existed; one of that year, and the other of the year 800.

Here this series of the pictures of ancient Manchester must close. Of its state as destroyed by Scots, Picts, or Danes, we

know nothing beyond the fact that it was so ruined, or as one old chronicler expresses it, "sore defaced, in the wars with the Danes." For the rest of its history, the reader is referred to *Mamecestre,* vol. i. chap. ii., page 11. "Before the Conquest," chap. ii. page 16, sketches what is known of it in Norman times, from the Domesday survey; chap. v. describes the grant of a yearly fair, in 1222, and 1227; and following chapters in the same work bring down sketches of its secular history to the year 1473. The two vols. of *Court Leet Records* resume the local history in 1552, and bring it down to 1602, the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Its history in the 16th century is briefly sketched in the Appendix to the later volume of *Court Leet Records,* while the former volume contains a plan of the town as it existed about 1650. Its history in later centuries is illustrated by many succeeding articles in the present volume, and some vivid pictures of its men and manners, its streets and institutions, in the 18th century, are given in the personal recollections of aged men, one even a nonagenarian; and in a series of public documents and reports of the proceedings of public bodies.

ROMAN REMAINS AND RELICS.

IT appears from *Camden, Horsley,* and the *Notitia,* that the First Cohort of the Frisians remained at Manchester from A.D. 79 or 80 to 394; and it may be presumed that from the latter year to A.D. 446, when the Romans finally withdrew from Britain, *Mancunium,* or Manchester, had a garrison of Roman or Romanized soldiers, of nearly 800 men. For more than three centuries and a half then, Manchester was a Roman-British town; and all our knowledge of the Romans leads us to anticipate, what has proved to be the case, that a rich harvest of Roman remains testifies to the fact of their long local rule. These relics may be broadly classed in three divisions:

1. Inscribed Altars and other stones.
2. Coins and Medals.
3. Pottery, and Miscellaneous relics.

Under these heads we propose briefly to notice the chief discoveries of Roman remains in and near Manchester, and relating to it.

I.—*Inscribed Altars and other Stones, &c.*

IN the beginning of the 17th century (says Whitaker) was discovered in Camp Field a stone, which was the sepulchral monument of a Roman officer of the station at *Mancunium,*— Candidus Fidelius, a centurion of the garrison, who died here in his 21st year. It is thus delineated by Camden, (*Britannia,* edit. 1607, p. 611; Gibson's edit. 1695, p. 788; Gough's edit. 1806, vol. iii. p. 375):

D CANDIDI
FIDES. XX.
IIII.

and was inscribed—

[Dîs Manibus]	To the Gods of the Shades.
Centurionis Candidi Fidesii;	The Centurion Candidus Fidesius;
[Vixit Ann rum] 20	Lived 20 years,
Mensium	..... months
Dierum] 4.	And 4 days.

Camden says he saw the stone himself. His words are:

In a park of the Earl of Derby in this neighbourhood, called Allpark [Aldport Park], I saw foundations of an old square tower, called Mancastle, where the river Medlock falls into the Irwell. I do not affirm this to have been the ancient *Mancunium*, as it incloses but a small place, but rather some station of the Romans; at which I saw an old stone with this inscription.

Camden does not say where the following stone was found, but he describes it in immediate connection with that just noticed, in the following terms:

The following was copied for me by that famous mathematician J. Dee, warden of Manchester College, who saw it. [After giving the inscription in three lines, as printed below, Camden observes as to both inscriptions:] These seem to have been erected to the memory of those centurions for their tried fidelity and integrity for so many years.

COHO. I. FRISIN
Ↄ. MASAVONIS
P. XXIII.

Cohors Prima Frisinorum	The First Cohort of Frisians
Centurioni Ma[rco] Savoni	placed this sepulchre
S[epulchrum] P[osuit. Vixit	to the Centurion Marcus Savo,
annos] Viginti trium.	[who lived] twenty-three [years].

Whitaker has the following observations on this inscription:

It obviously mentions the first cohort of the Frisians, and proves it to have been stationed in the Castle Field. This, the important part, is certain. The rest is not so. The former half of it is thus read by Horsley—'Cohors Prima'—and by Ward 'Cohortis Primæ' 'Frisinorum;' as the latter is thus interpreted by both:—'Centurioni Marco Savonio Stipendiorum 23.'

But both are mistaken in part. . . . . The former part may be read in this manner, 'Cohors prima Frisinorum Centurioni Marco Savoni sepulchrum posuit;' and the latter may be supplied thus: 'Vixit annos 23.' Thus inscribed, the stone appears to have been neither a monument of honour to the living, nor a cenotaph to the dead. It was an honorary monument erected over the grave of Marcus Savo, who was a young Frisian officer in the 1st Frisian Cohort, and died in his 24th year. And it was erected by the common act of the garrison, in an honourable regard to the memory of a hopeful, though subordinate officer.

Only one literal correction of Whitaker's reading may be suggested from the experience of other inscriptions bearing the name of the same cohort. What has been read FRISIN at the end of the first line, is doubtless FRISIAN, the A and N being so linked and blended (as is also the case in the Melandra inscribed stone), that the second limb of the A represents the first limb of the N; or in other words, the letter is an N with a cross-bar connecting its two first limbs, and making them into A. This little cross-stroke may easily have been overlooked, though it gives the power of an additional vowel in the word.

From Gough's *Camden* (vol. iii. p. 385) we learn that a stone with a rude inscription was found in 1760, on the south side of the river Medlock, near Knott's [or Cnut's] mill, on the left hand from Manchester to Stretford, a quarter of a mile from Mancunium. It was stated to be in the possession of the late Mr. Holland Watson. For a delineation of this exceedingly rude and almost unintelligible inscription see Gough's *Camden* (plate xx. fig. 140.) It is conjecturally somewhat as follows:

	MQPOB	.....
XVARLY	CHOR. I.	... Cohors Prima
RIS	-P-S. HNW.	[F]ris[ianorum].
	IL.	.....

Gough adds the following particulars as to this inscribed stone:—

The second line, which seems nearly complete, takes up eleven inches.

Under the letters the stone is hollowed as a basin. It lay eight or nine feet deep, the inscription downward: the ground round it had not been disturbed. It is the fourth inscribed stone found near this road [the Chester Road]; but for its uncertainty was rejected by Whitaker, though it is the second found at Mancunium. Mentioning the second [first] cohort of the Frisii, called in the Bradfield table [a small copper-plate, engraved with 29 broken lines in Roman capitals, awarding privileges to soldiers, — found in 1761, at Bradfield, Yorkshire] (p. 263) FRISIA: VET: and at Melandra.

Imperfect as this inscription is, and rude as are its characters, the letters CHOR. I. . . . RIS. . . . . seem sufficient to indicate that it was intended to record something in connection with the first cohort of Frisians.

In the year 1795 or 1796 a square inscribed stone was found in Castle Field, of which the following description is given by Mr. Thomas Barritt, of Manchester, an industrious collector in his day of antique relics, especially of armour, coats of arms, &c. On the 26th September, 1800, he read a Paper before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, which was published in the 5th vol. of the Society's *Memoirs* (p. 527), with an engraving (pl. vii. p. 534), the last figure in the plate being a representation of the inscribed stone, with the following explanation:

A Roman inscription, found in Castle Field, Manchester, in the possession of C. White, Esq., F.R.S. The size 15 inches by 11; found 1796.

Mr. Barritt's explanation of this inscription was given at the end of the same vol. (page 675) as Appendix I. We subjoin it:

The stone (see plate vii.) found in the year 1795 [a note on the plate calls it 1796] in the Castle Field, Manchester, the *Mancunium* of the Romans, from what appears of the inscription, seems to have been a votive one, dedicated to Jupiter, by the First Frisian cohort, stationed there in the 24th year after their arrival. . . . . The Frisian cohort at Mancunium is supposed to have been part of, and to have belonged to, the Sixth Roman legion, which was stationed at York, and styled "Victrix;" but it may admit of a doubt, whether this cohort did not belong to the 20th legion, stationed at Chester, and likewise styled Victrix. [After referring

to the Melandra stone, Mr. Barritt says]: It appears likely the [Castle Field] stone was fixed over the centre of the arched gateway of the castle, it being found in the ground where the principal entrance into the fortress was situated; being probably thus placed when the gate was erected, or at least when it might undergo a repair in the time of Trajan or Hadrian; coins of both Emperors being found at the place where the gate stood. This castle was in a ruinous state about the year 900.

At the end of Mr. Barritt's explanation is printed, page 677, the following

Note by Dr. Holme. — The following is, I apprehend, a more correct transcript of the inscription than that exhibited in plate vii., page 534. The characters I have ventured to supply in italics are obscure in the original. In the engraved copy an O is substituted for the Q in the fourth line, and there is a member redundant in the complication that follows it:

CHOR. I.
FRISIAVO
N. Q. VI. MVNI.
M. P. XXIIII.

Probably (continues Dr. Holme) 'Cohortis primæ Frisiavonum quæ viam munivit millium passuum viginti quatuor.' Which may refer to the construction of the military road between Mancunium and Condate; as the distance between these stations, fixed by Richard of Cirencester, in his 10th Iter, at 23 miles, measures according to Mr. Whitaker (*History of Manchester*, I. 102), 22 English, which are nearly equivalent to $23\frac{3}{4}$ Roman, miles. The relic before us is of importance, as it enables us to restore the proper appellation of the cohort that garrisoned Mancunium; concerning which antiquarians have been misled by an ambiguous contraction at Melandra Castle, and probably in that transcribed for Camden by Dr. Dee. It is farther valuable, as it may serve to vindicate the authority of Pliny and the purity of his text, in regard to a subject on which they have been questioned, in a work of great erudition, published by an eminent scholar of the 17th century. (*Vide Cluverii German Antiq.*, 561) The Frisiabones, or, adopting the reading of Harduin's MSS., Frisiavones, are twice mentioned by the elder Pliny: First, as inhabitants of an island situated at the mouth of the Rhine, between the Maese and the Zuyder Zee; and

secondly, as a nation of Belgic Gaul. (*Hist. Nat., lib. iv. capp.* 29-31.) The former are supposed by Harduin to have been a body of emigrants from the latter. The name is likewise preserved in an inscription found at Rome of which I insert a copy from Gruter (*Inscript. Antiq.*, DXXXII. 7.):— 'D. M. T. FL. VERINO. NAT. FRISÆVONE. VIX. AN. XX. M. VII. T. FL. VICTOR. EQ. SING. AVG. FRATRI. DVLCISSIMO. F. C.' Whether the Mancunian cohort was the same with the 'Cohors I. Frixagorum' of the *Notitia*, stationed in the decline of the empire at Vindobala, is a question that must be decided by future discoveries; as no inscriptions occur at Rutchester, which is supposed by Mr. Horsley to coincide with that station.

Feb. 24, 1802. E. H.

This note of Dr. Holme's was also printed separately, in a four page *fasciculus*, with the following title:—"Copy of a Roman Inscription, found in Castle Field, Manchester, and now in the possession of Chas. White, Esq., F.R.S. With Remarks by Edward Holme, M.D., F.L.S. 'Quacumque ingredimur in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.'—*Cicero De Fin. Lib. v. cap.* 7." The only difference in this reprint is the substitution of the following for the first sentence in the volume of *Memoirs*:

The stone on which the following inscription is traced was found on removing the rubbish that obstructed the Prætorian Gateway of the Roman Camp in Castle Field.

Having given all that is known to be in print relative to this inscribed stone, and the original having been lost sight of, it may be permitted to refer to Barritt's original drawing, from which the engraving in the Literary and Philosophical Society's *Memoirs* was made. This drawing, partly with the pen, and partly washed in Indian ink, was till lately in the possession of Charles Bradbury, Esq., of Salford. Upon it, in Mr. Barritt's own hand, is written "Drawn by T. Barritt, Nov. 1801." On a close inspection, it seems to differ slightly both from the engraving which purports to be copied from it, and from Dr. Holme's version of the inscription as given above. The following is as near a transcript as can be given of the letters in the original drawing:—

COHR I
ꟻRISIAVO
YOVI ⅄WV
SꟻXXIIII

The drawing and engraving agree in the first line; but Dr. Holme reverses the O and H, making it CHOR. In all probability this is from careless transcription. The second line commences with the letter which the engraving makes Y and Dr. Holme F. The drawing agrees neither with the engraving nor with the doctor, but makes a character precisely resembling the Runic character for F, which may be represented in type by a capital K deprived of its lower diagonal limb *ꟻ*. It is a rude form of F. Besides this original drawing, Barritt took another mode of perpetuating the inscription. Having in his possession a portion of the ear or handle of a Roman vase or amphora, found in Castle Field, he cut in its substance, so as to leave the letters in relief, a *fac-simile* of the inscription on the stone; and this is very plain, running in four lines:—

COHR I
ꟻRISIAVO
YOVIANVM
!PXXIIII

At the insertion of the handle in the vessel he has rudely incised a memorandum of the dimensions of the inscribed stone and the year when it was found thus—"15 by 11, 1796." This clearly refers to the stone in question, and shows that Barritt merely used his amphora handle as a memorandum in *fac simile* of the inscription (his attention being doubtless called more specially to it by Dr. Holme's reading) and of the size of the stone in inches, and when found. This amphora handle was purchased at the sale of the late Captain Robert Hindley, and was till lately in the possession of Charles Bradbury, Esq., Salford.

It is with some diffidence that a conjectural reading is suggested, differing from those given above. But it is well known that

throughout the great Roman roads, the distances were marked with the greatest care, and at the end of each "mille passus" (a thousand paces, or a Roman mile)—supposed to be 4834.28 English feet, one English mile being 5280 — was erected a milliary column, or mile-stone (*milliarium*), with an inscription indicating distance from the next town, and stating the name of the emperor in whose reign it was erected. Wright, in his *Celt, Roman and Saxon* (p. 354), observes that "we find now and then an inscription to an emperor whose reign was so short and insignificant that we could hardly suppose the influence of his name could have been felt." Our reading of the Castle Field stone would be "Cohors Prima Frisiavonum (or Frisianorum) Yovianv (for Joviano) Mille passuum viginti quatuor." That is — the first Cohort of Frisians to Jovian: 24 miles. There are objections to this reading, as for instance, the unusual omission of the terms "Imperator" and "Augustus," or "Cæsar;" and the position of the Emperor's name in the third line instead of the first. There is also the defaced mark or character commencing the fourth line left unaccounted for. Another suggestion may be offered, that the first Cohort of Frisians may also have had the appellation "Jovian," as the 2nd legion was named the Augustan, the 6th Victrix, the 7th Claudian, the 10th Fretan, the 14th Gemina, and the 20th Valens Victrix. Antoninus names a "Legio I." also "Jovia;" it was formed of foreigners, and raised or employed in Lower Mœsia. Whichever of these conjectures be more probable, at all events the third line contains a name resembling that of Jovianus, the emperor, who reigned less than eight months — A.D. 363–364.

The three inscribed stones having reference to the first Cohort of Frisians, already noticed, were all found at or near the site of the Roman station, at Manchester. But another remains to be described, as relating to the same regiment, which was found several years prior to 1771, on or near the site of the Roman station named by the people of the neighbourhood "Melandra Castle," near Wooley Bridge, in the township of Lower Gamesley, and parish of Glossop,

Derbyshire. The tenant of the ground under the then Duke of Norfolk, while searching for stones suitable for building a small house, found one about 16½ inches long and nearly 12 broad, which he built into a wall of his house as the lintel of a door, where it still remains. Some years ago the writer took a rubbing of it, and since then William Beamont, Esq., of Warrington, took a perfect plaster-cast of its inscribed face, and presented him with a copy (now in Peel Park Museum, Salford), from which the form of the stone and its characters have been carefully copied. This stone was first described by the late Rev. J. Watson, of Stockport (who was the first to discover that Melandra Castle was a Roman station, in July 1771), in a paper, dated Stockport, Dec. 5, read before the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 10, 1772; and published in the *Archæologia* (vol. iii. p. 236). The inscription occupied 3½ lines of a square, with a border line, enclosed in the triangular Roman label so common on their altars and other stones. It reads thus:—

CHO I
FRISIANO
O. VALVIT
ALIS.

This was read by Mr. Watson as follows:—

Cohortis Primæ	Valerius Vitalis
Frisianorum	Centurion of the
Centurio Valerius	First Cohort of
Vitalis.	Frisians.

Centurial stones, as they are termed, from bearing the name of the *Centuria* or company of a hundred, by which the place was occupied, or the building or other work was executed,—have generally a simple inscription like the above. In accordance with this view, it seems right to read the Melandra stone—

Cohors Prima	The First Cohort
Frisianorum	of Frisians, the
Centuria Valerii	Century of Valerius
Vitalis.	Vitalis.

It has been conjectured that Melandra was an outpost constructed and manned by a detachment from the Frisian auxiliaries forming the garrison of Manchester. Be this as it may, it is remarkable that no fewer than four inscribed stones should have been found in the same neighbourhood, — Melandra being not more than fifteen miles from Manchester, — all attesting the existence of no distinguished legion "valiant and victorious," but of this regiment of foreign auxiliaries, supposed to have been less than 800 strong.

In Gibson's additions to Camden's account of Manchester, he says (edit. 1695, p. 799) —

That it was famous in the time of the Romans, appears from another inscription which Mr. Camden has not mentioned, dug up near the town, at Aldport, in the year 1612. [After giving the inscription, as printed below, Gibson adds]: The stone is three-quarters [of a yard] long, fifteen inches broad, eleven thick; and it is preserved entire in the garden at Hulme, the seat of Sir Edward Mosley, lord of the town of Manchester.

Gough thus describes it: —

In Lady Bland's garden at the Holme [Hulme Hall], about a mile off [*i.e.* from Castle Field] is preserved an altar, 27¼ inches high, by 15¼ inches wide, found here in 1612, inscribed

FORTVNAE
CONSERVA
TRICI
L. SENECIA
NIVSMAR
TIVS, 3LEG.
VI. VICT

It is figured as above in the *Phil. Trans.* No. 155, figure 8, and briefly named there by Dr. Martin Lister. Hollinworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, gives the inscription in seven lines, but differently (and as it appears to us, inaccurately) arranged, thus: —

FORTVNÆ
CONSERVA
TRICI SE
NECIANIVS
MARTIVS
3 LEG VI
VICT

He states that it was found in 1612, under the root of an oak, in the Medlock, near Knot Mill, with the lettered side downwards, and that Camden had not seen it before the finishing of his *Britannia*.

Hollinworth, in his *Mancuniensis*, has the following speculation on this inscription:—

This seemeth to be an altar dedicated to Fortune, by L. Senecianius Martius, the third governor or commander in the Sixth Legion, which remained in York in the time of Severus: his being there after he had vanquished Albinus, general of the Britons, and reduced their state under his obedience, it was surnamed Victrix, and is placed by Dio in Lower Britain; and the 20th Legion, surnamed also Victrix, remained at Chester, which he placed in Higher Britain.

The following is the reading:—

Fortunæ Conservatrici	Lucius Senecianus Martius
L. Senecianus Martius	Centurion of the Sixth Legion
Centurio Legionis Sexti	Victorious, to Fortune the
Victrix.	Preserver.

After quoting this passage from Hollinworth, Gibson observes:

As to Senecianius's being third governor or commander, it is a way of expressing the particular station of any single man in the army, hardly to be met with in their inscriptions. Besides, their numerals, both in coins, medals, and inscriptions, were always expressed by capital figures, and not in that abbreviated way we use now-a-days. So that one would rather imagine that what he calls 3 was designed to express the office he bore in that legion.

It is scarcely neeessary to explain now that the character commeneing the sixth line resembling a 3 whieh led to these mistakes and speculations, is one form of the Roman "single" for the word *centurio*.

Horsley figures this stone in his *Britannia Romana* (book ii. plate 61), whence Baines copies it (vol. ii. p. 154), as below:

FORTWAE
CONSERVA
TRICI
L·SENECIA
NIVSMAR
TIVS3LEG
VI·VICT.

The same writer, in his *Britannia Romana* (vol. i. p. 55), says of this altar, that it is the only original now remaining of those whieh belonged to the [Roman] station at Manehester, and he adds: —

According to the information I had, it was found by the water side, near Giant's or Tarquin's Castle, and so farther confirms this to have been the place where the Roman station was. . . . . The mark for centurion is somewhat peculiar with us; but you have it in *Ursatus*. The middle part of the M comes the least down of any I have observed. The name Martius occurs in two other inscriptions at old Penrith, in Cumberland.

Stukeley saw it, about 1730, in the garden at Lady Ann Bland's, Hulme Hall; but a memorandum in pencil, written on the margin of the copy in Chetham's Library, states that "It was afterwards in the Leverian Museum."

Whitaker, whose speculations are generally worthy of attention, though too often tending to conclusions for which he had no sufficient data, thus discussed this inscription; whieh he arranges with Gough, but has two ligatures not either in that editor's version or in Hollinworth's MS., viz., the V and N in the first line, and the V and A in the second. He says: —

In every station altars were occasionally raised, as private gratitude for

past, or private supplication for future, favours directed. These seem never to have been placed within the compass of the walls. There was no room for them within. They were therefore fixed without, in such places as fancy or convenience recommended. But of these, or of such as stood in the temple, only one is known to have been discovered at Manchester. [In a note Whitaker observes that Dr. Stukeley has converted this altar into two.] And that has a curious inscription on the plane of it, which runs thus. [After printing the inscription, Whitaker adds]: —It was consecrated, as the inscription witnesses, by Lucius Senecianus Martius, a centurion of the 6th Legion, and of that particular brigade in it which, for its gallantry, was surnamed the Victorious, which passed over from Germany to Britain about the year 120, and marched into Scotland before 150. [Whitaker then describes the two routes from the south to Scotland, the western by Lichfield, Manchester, Penrith, &c.; says the legionaries would march in several divisions, and conjectures that whilst one of these divisions halted at Manchester, in the route northward, a centurion of the corps took the opportunity of erecting the altar. He continues:] Such I apprehend to be the actual date of it, more ancient perhaps than that of any other altar, and almost of any other monument, in the whole compass of Roman Britain. And with this notion every circumstance in the inscription seems perfectly to accord, — the structure of the letters in general, the punctuation and complication of some of them, and the centurial mark in the middle. The letters are of good form, and well rounded, and better in this respect than the generality of the characters in the inscriptions of Antoninus Pius. The points also, being merely the round dots or periods, bespeak a higher antiquity than the angular, triangular, and leaf-like ones of Antoninus's inscriptions; as the use of periods only, in the former, has more the cast of antiquity than the mixture of all four in the latter. And the complications for U N in the first line, and V A in the second, are as little involved and modern as those for N T, D R, and I O in the inscriptions of Antoninus. The centurial mark, indeed, may seem by its uncommon form to fix a late date to our inscription; and so thought an able critic in antiquities [Horsley, p. 189, and plate No. I., p. 189]. But so he thought, I apprehend, for want of sufficient attention. The centurial mark must have been originally C E N T., C E N., or C E., and the letters of the last would often be inverted to distinguish it from the signatures of prefix names. It thus became ⋿ Ↄ, and, the moment the complications began, was formed into a character, which partook equally of both, — the very

same that appears on the Mancunian altar [3]. This is older, because it is nearer to the original signature than >, the centurial mark of Antoninus. And it occurs not upon any other inscription within the island, but it is found, with some little variation, upon many on the continent. [See *Ursatus*, where it also appears in its natural position.] Erected, then, about the year 120, the altar was consecrated by the Centurion to Fortune, in grateful acknowledgment to the divinity that had so often preserved him in the hour of danger. . . . . It is observable in this altar — (though it has never been noticed by any of the numerous descanters upon it) — that it has no focus for the sacrificial fire. It is evident, therefore, that no victims were designed to be consumed, no libations to be poured, and no incense to be burned, upon it. It was therefore appropriated to the oblation of prayers, the presentment of the fruits of the ground, or both. Erected upon one of these designs, the Manchester altar seems to have stood near the eastern extremity of the Castle Field, and perhaps on the edge of the avenue that led up to the principal gate of the camp. It had thence been thrown down the bank of the river, but luckily met with a soft part of the channel and was not broken by the fall. And there it lay undisturbed and unknown for many ages, the lettered side lying upon the ground, and an oak spreading out its roots above it. In that situation it was found in the year 1612. The stone is $27\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length [height], $15\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, and nearly 11 in thickness [depth]. It has neither capital nor base, and only a large plane in front, bordered on either side by a moulding. It is charged with a common præfericulum [a vase for libations] on the left edge, and with a common patera [a bowl for libations] on the right; and is still preserved in the neighbouring hall of Hulme."

We have not been able to ascertain what became of this altar on the dispersion of Sir Ashton Lever's museum, by public sale.

In the museum at Worsley Hall is a fragment of a Roman tile about four inches long, with a sunk label, of which the first portion is wanting; the raised letters in this label are about an inch in length. Baines in his *Lancashire* (vol. ii. p. 158) includes it among "a large quantity of Roman antiques, chiefly dug up in Castle Field, Manchester, within the last seven years" [before 1830]. He figures it in plate ii. of Roman Antiquities, figure viii., but on comparing his engraving with a drawing made from the

original, I found that he had not indicated a portion of a letter still visible in the label. He calls it "a small oblong brick or tile, with the inscription FCXXVV, which may be "Fecit Cohors Vicesima Valens Victrix." The following is a more accurate delineation of this inscription:—

I F C X X V V

It may be read thus:—

LEG. XX. VV.

Legio. Vicesima	The 20th Legion.
Valens Victrix	Valiant, Victorious.

It is apparently the terminal portion of a very short inscription, occupying one line. Though there were eight cohorts attached to the 20th legion, while at Chester, we doubt much whether any cohort in Britain bore so high a number as xx., or so distinguished an appellation as that which characterised the 20th legion. While the second legion was named "Augustan," and the sixth (at York) "Victorious," the 20th alone, so far as is known, bore the titles of "Valiant and Victorious." The two letters treated as F and C are more probably E and G, and then we recognise the number and title of the great legion, whose head quarters were at Chester, but a portion of which might for a time have relieved or reinforced some of the auxiliary cohorts at Manchester.

Amongst the Roman antiquities figured and named by Baines [vol. ii. p. 161, and plate i.] is one respecting which it is stated that it is "a fragment of a Roman inscription, admirably cut in stone, containing metallic particles." If in the museum at Worsley Hall, it escaped the writer's notice when there. It contains brief fragments of two lines of an inscription, apparently

INV
ETAC

The first line may be part of the name AntonINVs; at the second it is in vain to guess. It is simply put on record here as a piece of Roman inscribed stone found at Manchester.

The most recently discovered inscription, and that with which we close the list, is on a Roman votive altar found at Castle Field in May, 1832. It is described and figured by Baines (vol. ii. pl. i. fig. 27, p. 160), but it is here printed from a drawing and measurements made by the writer, from the original, which is now placed in the museum at Worsley Hall. Baines says:

The altar is of the red sandstone which prevails through the south of Lancashire. It measures from the bottom of the base to the top of the capital, two feet four inches; the base is one foot eleven inches from side to side, and one foot two inches from back to back. [Our measurements are: greatest height 27¾ inches, least, 22¼ inches. The base in front is 22½ inches wide, 10¼ in height, and 11 inches deep from front to back. The plinth is 17½ inches high, 17 wide, and 6 deep. The panel or tablet for the inscription is 13½ inches wide, and the letters are about 1⅞ inch in height.] A portion of this inscription is unfortunately broken off, but the letters which remain are remarkably perfect, and of the form which prevailed in the age of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, before the ligatures and complications of letters had come into use.

The remains of this inscription are its five last lines, of which only the two last are perfect; and above this the lower parts of a few letters are just discernable, which are conjectured to be N I V S. They are scarcely plain enough to warrant adoption; but Baines gives the inscription thus:—

N I V S
M P . O S L
. . . .
V E X I L
P R A E T O R . E T
N O R I C O R
V . S . L . L . M .

And he thus reads the original:—

. . . . nius
Imp. Olim Signifer Legio.
. . . . . Vexillationis

. . . . Prætorianæ et
Noricorum.
Votum solvit libens, libentissime merito.

To the beginning of this reading there is some objection. From the first word in the second line being Imperator, the inference is that the letters supposed to be N I V S are part of the name of such emperor. But only two are known, during the Roman occupation of Britain, of whose name these four letters would represent the termination. Many names end in *ius* or in *nus;* but in *nius* only in Licinius [A.D. 307–324], and Eugenius [A.D. 392–395]. Therefore this conjectural reading may be questioned if not so far rejected. Then the two L L in the concluding well-known formula cannot be "libens libentissime," that is, "gladly and most gladly;" but more probably represent the words "lubens libens," or else, by their duplication, mark the superlative degree, as "libentissime." Both forms are found in the collections of inscriptions; to which may be added that while the latter is found in Donius, the same "singles" stand for "Vivens sibi legavit locum monumenti" (Manutius); for "Voto soluto libentissime merito" (Ursatus); for "Votum solvit locum legit memoriæ" (Tomasinus), and for the same, changing the last word into "monumenti" (Lazius). But those first named are the most ordinary and usual forms, and the inscription may therefore be rendered:—"Formerly officer [or standard-bearer] of the Legion . . . . . of the Vexillation . . . of the [Prætorians, or] Rhætians and Noricans. Performing a vow most gladly and dutifully."

These, so far as is known, are all the Roman inscribed stones connected with Manchester. Two only are altars; five legionary, cohortan, or centurial stones; and the remaining two mere fragments, one of a stone, and the other of a tile.

These inscriptions supply us with the names of the following centurions or commanders of companies of a hundred men:—Candidus Fidesius; Marcus Savo, of the first cohort of Frisians; Valerius Vitalis, of the same cohort; and Lucius Senecianius, of

the 6th Legion Victorious. To these may be added the (obscure) name of a standard-bearer of the Vexillation of the Rhætians and Noricans.

II.—*Coins and Medals.*

AMONGST the various relics found on and near Castle Field and Camp Field, may be mentioned a great number of coins, turned up at different times, chiefly in the 18th and 19th centuries. We can only name the most remarkable. About 1700 a gold coin of Otho (who reigned A.D. 69) was found on Castle Field. In 1765 a Roman coin, with the word "REDVCI" on one side and ". . AN AVG. Cos." on the other. The coins found there in the early part of the present century are chiefly of the emperors Vespasian (who began to reign A.D. 69), Vitellius (69), Domitian (81), Nerva (96), Trajan (98), Hadrian (117), and Constantius (305). Since 1832 the finds have been more numerous and important. Many were sold by the workmen finding them for a few pence or a quart or two of ale. One workman is said to have found "a bucketful of coins," which he carried off by tying up the sleeves of his smock, and so converting it into a sack, which he filled with his spoil. The finest collection of Roman coins from Castle Field that I have seen was one of sixty silver *denarii*, a selection from a much larger number, all found in the present century. It included thirty (so called) consular or family coins, and twenty-nine imperial. There were twelve named varieties of the Roman "gentes," and eleven of various families uncertain; six of the twelve Cæsars and five of later emperors, with three imperial ladies. Beginning with Tiberius (reigning A.D. 14–37) there were two of Galba (68–69), one of Vitellius (69), seven of Vespasian (69–79), four of Titus (79–81), three of Domitian (81-96), one of Nerva (96-98), three of Trajan (98–117), one of Antoninus Pius (138-161), one of Caracalla (198-211), having on the obverse the legend "Antoninus Pius Aug. *Britan*;" one of Severus Alexander (222–235), one of Sabrina, wife of Hadrian (100–137);

two of Faustina the younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius (140–175); and one of Julia Mæsa (grandmother of Heliogabalus), who died in 223.

III.—*Pottery and Miscellaneous Relics.*

MUCH pottery, chiefly in fragments, has been found on the site of the Roman station and near it,—some in the pits outside the station, which seem to have been the deposits of the refuse of the camp, and to have resembled, in their use at least, the kitchen-middens of more remote races. Mixed with gray and dark pottery, many fragments were found of the bright glazed red kind, usually called Samian ware, with devices of hunting, &c. in relief, and occasionally a potter's mark stamped at the bottom of the vessel. In 1808 a number of Roman *paterœ* or dishes were found in Castle Field by the workmen in cutting a tunnel for the Rochdale canal. They were about twelve feet below the surface, imbedded in clay and sand. The workmen, supposing them to be silver, offered them for sale, but finding they were pewter, sold them as old metal to a brazier, at whose place they were fortunately seen by the late Mr. William Ford, bookseller, of Manchester, who rescued them from the melting-pot, and presented them to the British Museum, where they still occupy a place in the museum of antiquities. Many *fibulæ* (brooches) and other personal ornaments, chiefly of bronze, have from time to time been found; and a very great number and variety of other relics, of which an account will be found in Baines's *Lancashire* (vol ii. pp. 155–161); and many of the articles disinterred at Castle Field have been deposited in the private museum of the Earl of Ellesmere at Worsley new hall.

During the excavations in Camp Field, for the foundations of a building now known as the Manchester Free Library, there was found a beautiful little bronze statue of Jupiter Stator, 5½ inches in height. When discovered it was upon a bronze pedestal, which was lost. The figure is represented as holding in the right

hand a *hasta* or spear, and in the left the bolts of Jove. These (which were loose, and have been of either bronze or silver) had disappeared. This elegant little statuette appeared to be identical in form and attributes with one or two figured in Montfaucon's "*Antiquité expliqué par des figures.*" It is in the possession of a gentleman resident in Manchester.

THE LANCASTER RUNIC CROSS.

AFTER the death of the late Dr. Edward Holme, of Manchester, there was found in a box in his study, part of an old stone cross, which had been in his possession for some years. His executors, at the request of some local antiquaries, presented it to the Manchester Natural History Society's Museum, in Peter-street, where it may still be seen. This singular relic of a past age (it cannot be less than eight hundred and may be a thousand years old)—was found many years ago in the church yard of the parish church of St. Mary, Lancaster. It ought to have been placed within the church for preservation; but the then vicar of Lancaster caused it to be placed on the ground near the entrance to the vicarage, and there it remained for a while. But at length it disappeared, and it was said that the owner of a museum of antiquities and curiosities at Kendal, obtained, by means of the sexton, an unauthorised possession of this cross, and placed it in his museum; and though the vicar of Lancaster complained in strong terms of the abstraction of this curious relic, he seems to have taken no active measures to claim and regain possession of it. In 1835, in consequence of the

owner's death, all the articles in his museum at Kendal, were sold by auction, and amongst the rest the Lancaster stone, which was purchased for Dr. Holme by one of his Kendal friends, under the protest of a gentleman attending the sale, that it ought not to be sold. From that time it remained quietly in the possession of Dr. Holme till his death, twelve years afterwards, when it was transferred to the Natural History Society's Museum, Manchester.

The height of this stone is three feet; its breadth at the arms of the cross (of which the right is mutilated) is $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and the breadth of the stem, at the inscription tablet, is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The cross itself is covered with entangled scrolls in relief,—the usual decorations of these Runic crosses; and similar ornaments of a larger size adorn the stem below the inscription. A wood engraving of the cross is given in Dr. Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire* (vol. ii. page 224), and delineations of the stone, front and back, with a large copy of the Runic inscription in three lines, will be found in Baines's *History of Lancashire* (vol. iv. page 524).

The chief antiquarian interest in this ancient stone of course centres upon its Runic inscription, which, from the mouldering and decay of the stone, is to some extent obscure, though the general forms of the letters are readily discernable. Several casts were taken from the original, one of which was long in the possession of the writer, and is now in the Peel Park Museum, Salford. From an inaccurate drawing in one case, and from the defects in the stone, these old Runes have been variously interpreted by five antiquaries who have sought to decypher them. In November, 1838, Dr. Holme read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester a dissertation "On a Runic inscription discovered in Lancashire;" but this paper was not printed in the Society's Transactions, and the doctor's interpretation was much questioned. Five years afterwards Dr. Hibbert-Ware laid a communication upon the subject from a distinguished Scandinavian antiquary before the Antiquarian Society of Scotland; and he subsequently reviewed the various interpretations

which had then been given of the Runes, in a short and interesting paper, of which we print the chief points. Soon after the cross was dug up a drawing of it by an eminent artist, but evidently not familiar with subjects of this kind, was submitted to William Hamper, Esq. of Birmingham, a gentleman who had made Anglo-Saxon Runes his peculiar study. Mr. Hamper expressed the strongest doubts of the correctness of the drawing, and reluctantly offered the suggestion that the characters were Anglo-Saxon Runes, and appeared to him to indicate the burial-place of a Saxon named *Ocyelbrit.*

Another interpretation was published by the late Dr. Whitaker (accompanied by a drawing still untrue to the original), which appeared in his *History of Richmondshire* (vol. ii. page 229). He supposed the Runes to be Danish, and fancied that they presented the names of "five devout Danes, undoubted inhabitants and proprietors of lands in Lunesdale and the neighbourhood," viz.: Ubbo, Aixfreth, Reafan, Siffred, and Druimond. "Of all these," adds the author, "except one, all other memory has perished. But it is a very singular and pleasing fact, that at this very time and in this identical valley, flourished Aikfreth, a noble baron, Lord of Dent and Sedburgh.

While the cross was in a dusty corner of the showman's museum at Kendal, Dr. Hibbert-Ware, in the year 1834, saw it and took a cast of it, which he sent to Copenhagen, with a view of having Professor Finn Magnusen's interpretation recorded in Mr. Baines's *History of Lancashire,* then in course of publication. But as the answer from Denmark did not reach in time, only drawings of the cross were published, unaccompanied by any attempt of Dr. Hibbert-Ware to explain the Runes. But Mr. Baines, or some friend, offered an explanation (*Lancashire* vol. iv. p. 524) referring the characters to the Dano-Runic or Runo-Danish letters published by Dr. Hickes, and rendering the following explanation of them: "Gibi hath died, a kinsman of Balth (or of a bold race) known to camps (or expert in the field)."

Professor Magnusen's reply had been entrusted to a learned

Scotsman, Mr. Macdougall, curator to one of the royal libraries at Copenhagen; who, in the autumn of 1835, lost his life by the upsetting of a boat at Largs, in Scotland. Hence the delay. Professor Magnusen's interpretation (dated in 1836) and accompanied by valuable philological remarks, was as follows:

':GIBIDON FA
RO CUNIBALD
CUP BURMN.

Rendered by Professor Magnusen in Latin. "Oremus nancisci (obtinere) quietem Cunibaldum (bene) notum castri (civitatis) incolam (civem aut præfectum)." That is, "Let us pray that Cunibald, a well known inhabitant of the castle, may obtain rest."

The next reading was given in a memoir on the subject by the late John Mitchell Kemble, Esq., which was published in the *Archæologia*. The following is his reading:

GIBIDÆTH FORÆ
CYNIBALTH
CUTHBERHT [INGÆ]

ie., "Orate pro Cynibaldo (et) Cuthberhto," or "Orate pro Cynibalda, Cuthberhti" [filio]. "Pray for Cynibald and Cuthberht," or "Pray for Cynibald (the son of) Cuthberht."

Dr. Hibbert-Ware did not profess himself competent to give an opinion on the comparative merit of the five interpretations, except to this extent,—That the question of preference evidently lay between that of Professor Magnusen (the antiquary whom Denmark holds most in esteem), and Mr. Kemble, the learned translator of Beowulf. Some part of the discrepancy between their interpretations might be owing to the fact that the Danish professor had the cast before him to study, while Mr. Kemble had only a drawing of it. But a more deep-seated cause of the difference was to be sought in the philological principles upon which the examination of most Anglo-Saxon inscriptions or MSS. was conducted. Scandinavian antiquaries regard Anglo-Saxon as a sort of intermediate link between the old Teutonic

[or high German] language, and the old northern, which was anciently spoken in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, but is now confined to Iceland. In attempting to explain Anglo-Saxon Runes or other writings, they resort to old northern or Danish idioms. The Anglo-Saxon scholars of our own country, however, take a different view of the question; being rather disposed to assign the intermediate place to the Icelandic language, which in the phrase of the Rev. J. H. Halbertsma, a Friesic philologist, is "a tongue of transmigration." Mr. Halbertsma argues that the language of the Angles — who, when they invaded Britain, were in a league with the old Saxons, and were thence named Anglo-Saxons — was a dialect of a people the *foremost* of the tribes who entered Europe from the East; and who, being pushed forward by following tribes, did not halt until they arrived on the shore of the German ocean. Here, under the name of Friesians, they filled nearly the whole of the Chersonesus Cimbricus (Jutland), and spread themselves in one uninterrupted line along the coast of the German sea to the mouth of the Scheldt. According to this view, the Anglo-Saxon, or rather the Anglo-Friesic dialect, is an older one in Europe than the old northern or Icelandic tongue; and hence its ancient written language must be explained, not by the aid of Danish or Scandinavian idioms, which it could not have borrowed, but by its own internal character and peculiarities. Hence the great difference between the translations of the early poem of Beowulf on Scandinavian principles by Professor Thorkelin, and on the principle that Anglo-Saxon borrowed little if anything from the old northern, by Mr. Kemble. To these differences are due the very opposite versions given of the Rothwell runic cross; and to them may also be attributable the variances between the readings of the runic cross from Lancaster.

Some years ago, with a view to obtain the interpretation of so high an authority in Teutonic philology as Dr. William Grimm, a plaster cast of the inscription on the runic cross was borrowed of the writer, and sent to Germany by Lord de Tabley; but

though the cast was duly returned, its owner was not favoured with the reading or the opinion of the learned German philologist.

Subsequently, the late Mr. John Just, of Bury, an able philologist, especially in the Teutonic and Scandinavian groups of languages, — after a careful examination of the original, and repeated inspections of a plaster cast of it, which was presented to him by the council of the Manchester Natural History Society, arrived at the conviction that it is undoubtedly one of those very rare relics, — a genuine Anglo-Saxon runic monument. His deciphering and rendering differ in some points from those of Kemble, as will be seen on a comparison of the letters in each case. Mr. Just deciphers it thus: "GIBIDDETH FORE CYNIBALTH CUTHBURUC." [The last two letters somewhat conjectural.] He renders this — "Pray ye for Cynibald Cuthburuc." Owing to the obscurity of the last two or three letters, he is doubtful whether the last word is a proper name or an epithet, indicating Cuthbert's station, character, or condition in life. The first word has clearly two D's in it, and here Mr. Just is undoubtedly more correct than Mr. Kemble; for "gebiddan" is the Anglo-Saxon verb "to pray, to adore," whereas "gebidan" is "to remain, to abide."

On the whole, from a careful and repeated examination of the original and of plaster casts from it, the writer is of opinion that Mr. Just has made the nearest approximation to the true rendering of that which must probably, as to the last word, ever be somewhat doubtful or obscure. Mr. Just read a Paper on the subject, before the Historic Society of Liverpool, and also before the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. It is now clear that this is an ancient Anglo-Saxon inscription, and not a Danish or Norse one. The Anglo-Saxon Runes are much more rare than the Scandinavian, even in this country; and this is one of five only known to exist in Great Britain. The others are the Bewcaster Runic inscription on the shaft of a cross at that place; an Anglo-Saxon Rune in the baptistery of Bridekirk, Cumberland; a third, at Rothwell in Scotland; a fourth, discovered by the late

Dr. Hibbert-Ware, and by his care placed in the church of Hackness, Yorkshire; and the fifth, the Lancaster Runic cross, now under notice. All the Runic inscriptions of the Isle of Man (which have received their only correct reading and interpretation from Mr. Just) are Norse or Danish. Their general tenor is "Ulf [or some other name] raised this stone [or cross] to the memory of [some proper name] his mother [or other relative]."

For convenience of comparison, we bring together the various readings of the Runes on the Lancaster cross; first grouping those of the Danish or Scandinavian, and afterwards those of the Anglo-Saxon school:—

Dr. Whitaker's reading:

HEBEO AEKFR RFN ZEEBRÐ DRUIBMVMD.

Professor Finn Magnusen's:

GIBIDON FARO CUNIBALD CUP BVRMN

Anonymous, in Baines's *Lancashire:*

GIBIHÆTH FARÆ CYNIBALTH CUTHBŒUUC

Mr. John Mitchell Kemble's:

GIBIDÆTH FORÆ CYNIBALTH CUTHBERHT INGÆ

Mr. John Just's:

GIBIDDETH FORE CYNIBALTH CUTHBURUC.

Those who are curious in these matters may study the alphabets of Runes in Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus*, and may examine the original stone in the museum of the Natural History Society, Peter-street, Manchester, or a plaster cast of the inscription only, at the Peel Park Museum, Salford.

ANCOATS IN THE OLDEN TIME.

IN the days of British and Roman Manchester, it is very probable that the site of Ancoats was covered with growing timber: for it would seem that a portion of the forest of Arden extended nearly to the infant town. As the forest was cleared, in Saxon times, there arose the hamlet of Annecoats or Antecotes, for it is written both ways in old deeds; and of course it formed a part of the barony of Manchester, held successively by the Greslets, the la Warres, and the Wests. But even in very early times, probably in the reign of Richard II., a family styled "De Ancotes" held the hamlet of Ancotes of the barony of Manchester, by the service of half a mark, or 6s. 8d. yearly, payable at the four quarterly terms. The derivation of Ancotes or Antecotes is a little doubtful. Cotes, from Cota, Anglo-Saxon, usually implies a cot or cottage; but it is sometimes used to denote a large fold or inclosure, whether for sheep or cattle. Near Hull, in Yorkshire, are some large fields or inclosures, bearing the name of Dairy-coates, whether from the huts for storing the milk, or from the inclosure for folding the milch cattle, is not clear. If we suppose the old name to have been Antecotes, then it may denote the opened inclosures, from "antynan," A.S., to open. If it is "Ancotes," it may mean the given or gifted cottages, or inclosures; "an" A.S. implying to give, as dæl-an, to deal, *i. e.*, to give a deal or share, to apportion, to divide; by-an, to give a by, or place of dwelling; to inhabit. All that can be fairly conjectured from name and old records is, that when the site was cleared, it became a hamlet, with fields about it; and here we must leave it to be peopled and increased, according to the fair reasoning and imagination of the reader, till the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion [1189–1199] or that of his brother John Lackland [1199–1216], when

the actual existence of the hamlet of Ancotes is first put on record, in an undated deed. First, then, from the old records and abstracts which Kuerden has preserved for us, in the crampest and crabbiest of all possible handwriting, in his MS. volumes, stored in the Heralds' College, London, we shall try to glean a few facts as to the Ancotes, and its possessors, of

The 13th Century.

THE first abstract we meet with is without date; but Kuerden pronounces it to be prior to the year 1230. It is to the following effect:—

1.—Without date, but before 1230. Robert de Gredley has given Ralph de Ancotes for homage and service, all the land of Ancotes, to him and his heirs. To have, &c. yielding half a mark [6s. 8d.] at the four yearly terms. Witnesses: Robert de Burun de Clayton, Robert, son and heir of Matthew, son of William; Roger de Middleton, Gospatric de Chorlton, Orm de Ashton, Asco clerk, and others. [The most probable period for the date of the above grant is during the local rule of Robert de Gredley or Greslet, the fifth baron of Manchester, and the second Robert Greslet, who was born about 1175, and died about 1230–1. About the time when this Robert de Greslet came of age [1196–7], King Richard was setting out upon his expedition into Normandy, and the baron of Manchester was summoned, with his followers, to attend his sovereign in the war. Dr. Hibbert-Ware finds "indications of the efforts which Gresley made in the royal cause, not only in the suitage which he received from his Lancashire tenants, but also in the numerous sub-infeftments which ensued. Many of the grants recorded of him, were no doubt in recompense for the personal services of the adventurous free tenants who followed in the baronial suite." Dr. Hibbert-Ware enumerates various grants at this period, amongst which the nearest in amount of render required is that to a Radulphus or Robert de Ernecot, who had two bovates or oxgangs of land granted to him in con-

sideration of 6s. 8d. yearly. The same writer remarks that the era of Richard I. abounded with feudal confirmations or gifts; and it seems no undue stretch of imagination to suppose that it was about this time that the above grant, which specifies that it was made for "homage and service," was given to Ralph de Ancotes and his heirs. What extent passed under the description of "all the land of Ancotes," it is vain to inquire.] Turning to the witnesses, the first is "Robert de Burun de Clayton." The only two Roberts for a considerable period were the one who married Cecilia, daughter and heiress of Richard de Clayton, in the first year of King John (1199), and his son Robert, who married a Maud, who was living second Edward I. [1273–4]. In all probability our witness is the first of these. The next witness with a local habitation is Roger de Midelton; but he cannot be identified. The next is Gospatric de Chorlton, who made a grant of lands in Chorlton and Beswick to the abbey of Cockersand in the year 1148, and to other deeds of whom, Orm de Ashton, Robert de Byron, Roger de Midelton, &c. are witnesses. The last recognisable witness is Orm de Ashton, more properly de Eston [that is East-tun, whence arises Orm-Eston, now Urmston.] This witness is known to have lived in the reigns of Richard I. and John; we have already shown him to be contemporary with other witnesses; and in the Chancery Roll of 3 king John [1201–2] he is called Orm de Eston, and is said to owe the king £40. — Putting these facts and dates together, we arrive at the conclusion that this deed was made some time within the first thirty years of the thirteenth century. Till 1199, no Robert de Burun could style himself de Clayton, and in 1230–31 the grantor, Robert de Greslet died. These, then, are the limits within which the grant must have been made.

2.—Without date (time of Edward I.) Henry de Ancotes gives to Robert, son of Simon de Mamecestre, a plot of land in Ancotes called Stanigate, &c. Witnesses: Geoffrey de Salford, Geoffrey de Strangwayes, Richard Gene, Roger de Mamecestre, Jordan de Milnegate, Hugh of the same place, and others. [The date

of this grant is about the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. We shall find this same Henry making other grants. It is personally one of the most closely local grants we ever saw. — The grantor is of Ancotes, as is the land; the grantee and three witnesses are of Manchester, another witness is of Salford, and a fifth of Strangeways. Grantor, grantee, land and all the witnesses would be embraced in a circle of a mile radius.] The next is another grant of the same Henry de Ancotes :—

3. — 23rd Edward I. (1295). Henry de Ancotes gives to Alexander le Tinctore [the dyer] de Mamecestre, an acre of my land in Ancotes, with a message and a curtilage [a piece of land, yard, or garden, lying near the house], &c. Witnesses: Sir Randle, then dean, Geoffrey de Strangwayes, Hugh de Mylnegate, Robert son of Roger de Ancotes, Robert de Openshagh, chaplain.— 23 Edward I. [Here we have proof that there was a dyer in Manchester in the thirteenth century, the possessor, under this grant, of a house with its curtilage and an acre of land in Ancotes. The first witness adds a new dean to the very few deans rural of Manchester enumerated by Dr. Hibbert-Ware. Geoffrey de Strangwayes, and Hugh de Mylnegate, who witnessed the last deed, also witness the present, — another clue to the probable date of No. 2. — The witnesses give us more members of the family of Ancotes, Robert son of Roger; — and lastly there was a chaplain Robert de Openshagh, a witness. — The next grant is also from the same Henry de Ancotes, and just seven years later.]

The 14th Century.

4. — 30th Edward I. (1302.). Henry de Ancotes gives to Geoffrey de Chaderton and Joan his wife, part of my land in Ancotes, called "le Holycading" [? Holly-ruding], namely, beginning from the land of Robert, son of Simon de Mamecestre, and following a certain path or lane ["semitam"] as far as to the water of Medlock, and so following the Medlock as far as to the land of the said Geoffrey; yielding a halfpenny at the feast of St. John

the Baptist [June 24]. Witnesses: Henry de Trafford, Geoffrey de Salford, Geoffrey de Stronwithe [? Strangwayes], Alexander de Birches, Adam de Rossendale, clerk. — 30 Edward I. [Here we have a grant to Geoffrey de Chaderton and Joan his wife, persons whose names occur in several subsequent grants. How much land was conveyed does not appear; but the yearly render was only a halfpenny every Midsummer Day. Several of the old witnesses occur, with two new ones, Alexander de Birches, (probably the first of that name, son of Robert, and father of Alexander) and Adam de Rossendale, clerk, who witnessed a subsequent deed in this series. This was not the only grant from Henry de Ancotes to the Chadertons; for only three years afterwards, making a gift to his sister for life, he grants the remainder to the Chadertons, and their heirs, in the following deed:]

5. — 33d Edward I. (1305). Henry de Ancotes gives to Elen my sister, for her life, a messuage, with garden [or orchard, "cum orto"] in Ancotes, and a certain part of my land called le Claycroft, which contains four selions [or ridges] of land near le Brodgrene, &c. After the death of Elen, &c. then to Geoffrey de Chaderton and Joan his wife, and the heirs between them, &c. Witnesses: Richard de Hulton, Richard de Radclive, Richard de Mostin, Thomas de Hopwod, Adam de Chaderton, Alexander Tinctore [the dyer] de Mamecestre, and others. — 33d Edward. [Here we have a grant from a brother to a maiden sister, of a house, orchard, and land in Ancotes, with the remainder to a family de Chaderton. This grant gives us two local names in Ancotes, le Claycroft and le Brodgrene, or Broad Green. The *selion*, from the French *seillon* (about 20 perches of land), seems to have been the name given to a ridge, or raised land, between two furrows; and in England it was an uncertain quantity, and was sometimes termed a *stitch* of land, which name it still retains in Cumberland. Several members of eminent Lancashire families witness this grant; and another Manchester dyer, Simon the dyer, had a son Robert, who made a grant to Alexander de

Mamecestre; probably this very witness. The next grant is made by the same Henry de Ancotes, and in the same year.]

6. — 33d Edward I. (1305.) Henry de Ancotes gives to Henry de Trafford and heirs, a moiety of the whole of my land "del Brigefurlong" which is between the road ["viam"] and the clearing ["assartam] of Henry de Trafford; with the moiety of the whole of my waste in Ancotes within these boundaries, namely: Beginning at "le Ringherd de Shorteys" and so direct into Bexwykeforth [Beswick-ford], and so descending the Medlock as far as into Smithystede [the Smithy Place], and so ascending into the aforesaid "le Ringherd del Shorteys." With a moiety of the waste called Elendeye, viz.: beginning at the Stanigate, near the land of Henry de Trafford, as far as to the highway, and so, as far as into the Medlock, and descending the Medlock so far as to "le Walbanc," and from le Walbanc as far as to the garden [or orchard, "ortum"] of Thomas de Hopwod, and so as far as to the said Stanigate, together with "le Kilnelonds," between "le Bradgrene" and Claycrofts; with one selion. Witnesses: Master Richard de Trafford, rector of Chedle, Matthew de Hadoke, Richard de Moston, Thomas de Hopwod, Adam de Chaderton, Alexander Tinctore [the dyer] of Mamecestre, and others. — 33d Edward I. [The grantee was the Henry de Trafford the fifth of that name; he was knighted between the date of this deed and 1309. Under this grant he had half the Bridge-furlong, half the waste of Ancotes, and half that of Elendeye, within the boundaries so carefully specified above. The first witness, "Master Richard de Trafford, rector of Cheadle," was a brother of the grantee; and is elsewhere described as being in 1293 and for "very long" the parson of Cheadle in Cheshire. Here again we have Alexander the dyer of Manchester. Having now given consecutively the grants of Henry de Ancotes, we must return to some without date. It will be seen that by No. 2 this Henry granted the Stanigate lands in Ancotes to Robert son of Simon de Manchester, and we now find, in another deed

without date, but about the beginning of the fourteenth century, that Robert granted these lands to a de Trafford.]

7. — Without date. (Time of Edward I.) Robert, son of Simon de Manchester, gives to Henry, son of Henry de Trafford, all lands in Ancotes, near Manchester, with the homage of Geoffrey de Chaderton, for the tenement which he holds of me in Ancotes, to wit by the service of one penny. Yielding 12d. at the four yearly terms. Witnesses: Sir J. de Buron, Sir Richard de Bure, Master Richard de Trafford, rector of Chedley [Cheadle], Matthew de Hadocke, Richard de Moston, Adam de Rossendale, and others. [We cannot err far in assuming this deed to have been about 1305, for three of its witnesses also witnessed a deed in that year. We must now go back, and take up another series of grants to and from the Burons or Byrons.]

8. — The following imperfect Post-Mortem Inquisition is without date, but is probably *circa* 1301–5. — Lands and tenements which were those of John le Buron, in Ancotes, that is to say,— Beginning at the land of Geoffrey de Chaderton, which lies on the north and west, and the land of Adam de Hopwood on the side of Westside, and so to the bridge of Medlock, on the south side, except the lands, viz. of Acrideg, one land of Ane de Hevedloue, and in le Midylcroft two lands, and in le Steinlendis [Stonylands] one land, and in le Shorthorne two lands, and in le Claycroft one acre, which lies from the granges of John de Trafford at the west side, by the middle hedge [or inclosure, "sepem"] at Shortcroft. Also two lands on the west side of the Claycroft lying by le Brodgrene. Also half a rood, lying in le Shortcroft, in two places. Also half an acre lying in le Shiterflat, in le Longmere; three rods lying in three places; also in le Knol, half an acre, lying in le Hardacre; half an acre near le Shiterflat, on the same side . . . . . one rod on the south side . . . . . [As one boundary of these lands was that of Geoffrey de Chaderton, who was living 1301–1318, we have little doubt that this inquisition was about the beginning of the fourteenth century; consequently it would relate to Sir John Byron, the first of that name, lord of Clayton,

and father of the Sir John who witnessed the Manchester charter in 1301. In the extent taken of the manor of Manchester, 15th Edward II. 1322, the following passage relates to Ancoats:

> The manor of Opneshagh contains 100 acres of turbary of the lord's soil. . . . . In this the tenants of the lord of Gorton, Openshagh, and Ardewyk, and *the lord of Ancoats*, have common of turbary. And whereof Sir John de Biron hath appropriated to himself forty acres of moor, seisin of the said lord.

Here we see the Byrons dealing with a part of the moor or turbary in Openshaw, and we shall find this family intimately connected with Ancoats. — The next abstract in the collection is dated]

9. — 1331. (5th Edward III.) Henry, son of Robert de Ancotes, to farm lets, &c. to Sir R. de Burun, knight, and his heirs, messuages, lands, and tenements, in the demesne which I had by succession, after the death of my father Robert, in the hamlet of Annecotes, in the vill of Mamecestre, for the term of forty years, from the feast of St. Martin, 1331 [Nov. 11]. To have, &c. yielding one rose. Witnesses: Nicholas de Langford, Henry de Trafford, James de Burun, knights; John de Ashton, Henry, son of Henry de Trafford, Robert his brother, and others. [Here we have two more of the old family of Ancotes still existing nearly a century after Ralph, viz. Robert (deceased before 1331) and his son Henry. The grantee is Sir Robert de Byron, of Clayton, the fifth Byron in a direct line who held that demesne; of which he had grant of free warren 28th June, 1308 (twenty-three years prior to this deed). He was in Parliament for the county of Lincoln, and died before 1347–8. Here "Annecotes," as it is spelled, is first called a hamlet. That this was a lease of favour is probable from the render being a rose only. The third knightly witness to this grant was Sir James de Byron, eldest son of the grantee, who succeeded his father in the estates. In 1342–3 (eleven or twelve years after this deed), Sir Robert made a grant to his sons, this Sir James and his brother John, of several

manors, and he died before 1347–8. The son, our witness, died before 1350–51. Three of the witnesses were of the ancient family of De Trafford, viz. Sir Henry, fifth of that Christian name, who succeeded his father in 1290, was knighted before 1309, and died three years after this deed, 1334. The other two witnesses were two of his sons; Robert, of Garrett, being his third, and Henry, his seventh son.] — The next deed is of the following year,

10. — 1332. Henry, son of Robert de Ancotes, gives Robert de Byron, knight, and his heirs, all the messuages, lands, tenements in the hamlet of Ancotes, in the vill of Manchester, which I had by succession, after the death of Robert de Ancotes my father. Witnesses: Nicholas de Longford, Henry de Trafford, James de Buron, knights; John de Ashton; Adam de Bradbury. 1339. [In No. 9 the same grantor to farm-lets, and in No. 10 gives, all his messuages, lands, &c. in the hamlet of Ancotes to the same grantee, Sir Robert de Byron; several of the witnesses are the same to both. Adam de Bredbury is doubtless of the old Cheshire family of that name]. We now revert to an earlier period:

11. — Without date (circâ 1295–1300]. Robert, son of Robert, son of Simon Tinctore [the dyer] de Mamecestre, gives to Alexander de Mamecestre and heirs, two selions [ridges] of my land in Ancotes; yielding one pair of white gloves at the Nativity of the Lord. Witnesses: Sir John de Byron, Roger de Midelton, Adam de Prestwich, Robert de Shoresworth, Thomas de Heton, and others. [Here we have the son and grandson of Simon the dyer, the latter giving two selions or ridges of land to an Alexander de Manchester, and about the same period (1295) an Alexander le Tinctore de Manchester, in all probability the same person, received another grant of land in Ancotes (see No. 3) from Henry de Ancotes. So that Simon the dyer must have lived in Manchester two generations prior to Alexander the dyer, and this would take us back to the middle of the thirteenth century, as a period when dyeing was carried on in that town. What fabrics

were then dyed in Manchester? The oldest textile fabric of England was woollen cloth; for even in the time of the Romans a manufacture of woollen cloths was established at Winchester, for the use of the emperors. The English woollen manufacture is mentioned in 1185; but it was not extensive till 1331: when the weaving of cloth was introduced by John Kempe and other artisans from Flanders. These were then called Kendal cloths and Halifax cloths; and blankets were first made in 1340. But it is stated that the art of dyeing woollens was first brought from the Low Countries to England in 1608; prior to which the English cloths were usually sent white to Holland, dyed there, and returned to England for sale. So late as the year 1628 two dyers of Exeter were flogged for teaching their art in the north of England. The old records now under consideration prove indisputably that the trade of a dyer was carried on in Manchester in the thirteenth century. As early as 1311 an inquisition post mortem specified a fulling mill at Colne; thus showing that the woollen manufacture had its seat in this county nearly thirty years before the introduction of the Flemish artizans by Edward III. It may be that the Manchester dyers of the thirteenth century operated upon linen cloths, which were first manufactured in England by Flemish weavers in 1253. However this may be, it is clear that the manufacture of woollens existed in Lancashire at the very early period when our dyers plied their trade in Manchester and Ancotes; and there seems some reason for supposing that every process in the manufacture of coloured woollens was carried on in this neighbourhood at the early period now under notice. This subject is deserving of more special and ample attention than we can give it here.* The next grant in

* Notes, by Mr. J. Higson, of Droylsden. — Whitaker, alluding to the etymology of Ancoats and Beswick, says — Anni and Betti, were amongst the Saxons, the common appellations of men, &c. Again, I have met with "*Am*coats," supposed to be from "Am," British for water, meaning the cottages near the water (Medlock river). Deed No. 1. Is the witness "Asco, clerk," merely a scribe, or is he "Aca clericus," the incumbent of St. Matthew's or Grell's Chantry, as Dr. Hibbert-

the series brings us back to Geoffrey de Chaderton and his wife:

12.—29th Edward I. (1301.) Adam, son of Richard "gen." [of the family of, or born to] Roger de Manchester, gives to Geoffrey de Chaderton and Joan his wife, and their heirs, a certain plot of land in the vill of Ancotes, namely half "le Brodgrene," with its appurtenances. Yielding a halfpenny at the feast of St. John the Baptist [June 24th]. Witnesses: Thomas de Ashton, Henry de Trafford, John de Gredley, Roger de Pilkington, Adam de Rossendale, clerk, and others. — 29th Edward I. [Adam, a descendant of Roger de Manchester, gives to the Chaddertons half the broad green in Ancotes, which we have seen in the old inquisition to have previously been of the lands of the Byrons; the render is nominal, a halfpenny yearly. This grant is dated in the same year in which Thomas de Gredley, or Greslet, eighth baron of Manchester, granted a charter to his burgesses of Manchester; and our grantee Geoffrey de Chaderton and two of the witnesses, Henry de Trafford and Roger de Pilkington, witnessed that charter. Another of the witnesses, John de Gredley, doubtless a relative of the lord of Manchester, was witness to a grant of Geoffrey de Manchester, chaplain, about this period. To that deed another witness is "Robert, son of

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Ware calls him, in volume 4th of *Manchester Foundations*? — No. 2. Robert, son of Symon (de) Manchester, was a witness to No. 1 Slade deeds. — Nos. 2 and 3. Is Hugh de Milnegate, the chaplain of that name, who is recorded in 1316? — No. 8. Adam de Hopwood. For one of that name, but apparently a generation later, see Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*, under the date of 1359 (page 37). Query. Where was the bridge over the Medlock? It could not be at Pinmill or Ancoats Brow, I presume, for that place was destitute of such accommodation, until about the middle of the last century (see the account, I believe, of its foundation in Barritt's MSS. Chetham's Library). — Nos. 9 and 10. Nicholas de Longford, knt. was a witness to Nos. 3 and 4 Slade deeds. — No. 11. The time of introduction, and the localisation of dyeing in Manchester and its neighbourhood, is an interesting inquiry, and worthy of mature consideration and research. — 1322. The tenants of the hamill of "Ancoates" obliged to grind at the Manchester Soke Mills. — 1338-9 (12 Edward III). Margaret, daughter of Geoffrey de Chadderton, of the family of Trafford, married John Radcliff, son of John Radcliff, rector of Bury, by whom the lands in Ancoats became the property of the Radcliffs.

Symon, of the borough of Mamcestre," doubtless the same person named in No. 2, as grantee, and in No. 7, as grantor, of lands in Ancotes.]

13.—32nd Edward I. (1304). Thomas, son of Geoffrey, son of Simon Kock de Manchester, gives to Geoffrey de Chaderton and Joan his wife and heirs, a moiety of all my land in Ancotes, &c. Witnesses:—Radeclive, John Suel, Thomas de Hopwod, Alexander de Birches, Alexander Tinctore [the dyer] de Mamecestre.—32 Edward I. [Here is another family (Cock or perhaps the cook) introduced, as granting lands to the Chadertons in Ancotes. Several of the witnesses are familiar names, and one of them is Alexander the dyer.]—Fourteen years after this deed, Geoffrey de Chaderton proceeds to convey all his lands in Ancotes and Manchester to his son Richard; the only evidence of which, however, is the following deed of attornment:

14.—11th Edward II. 1318. Geoffrey de Chaderton attorns Robert de Ashton and Nicholas de Workesworth, clerk, to deliver seisin, to Richard my son, of all my land in the hamlet of Hancotes, in the vill of Mamecestre, and of all my land in the vill of Mamecestre. 11 Edward II. [This is the last document in the series which applies to Ancotes (here spelled with an H), in the fourteenth century.—In the fifteenth we have new families introduced, the Hollinworths, Chantrels, Tildesleys, Redishes, &c.; and the Byrons reappear from time to time.]

The 15th Century.

The earliest document in this century, that we have discovered, is the following, the 15th of the series. It is dated 6th Henry IV.; but as it relates to Hugh de Holinworth, who is also mentioned in several documents of 11th Henry VI. we are inclined to think the transcriber has inadvertently written IV. for VI., and that the document should be placed in the latter reign:

15.—6th Henry VI. (1428). Thomas de Holinworth, senior, gives to Hugh de Holinworth, my son, all my messuages, lands

and tenements, in Ancotes, in the vill of Mamecestre. Witnesses: Robert de Stanley, John de Holinworth, Hugh de Macley, Robert del Dewesnape, John de Brecland, and others.—6 Henry IV.—[The grantor is of an old family of the hamlet called Hollinworth, in the township of Butterworth. We find that William de Sale and Cecilia, his wife, sold land there to Sir John de Burun at an early period; and that Cecilia, after her husband's death, is styled "de Holinworth," in the release she gave Sir John de Burun of the same land. A Matthew de Holinworth occurs in a deed sans date relating to the common pasture within the vill of Holinworth. Amongst the witnesses is another of the family. Hugh de Macley, should perhaps be Mascey.]

16.—11th Henry VI. (1432-3). William Chantrel demises to Hugh de Holinworth all lands and tenements which I lately had of the gift of the said Hugh de Holinworth, in Ancotes.—Witnesses: Edmund de Trafford, John de Ratclif de Ordsal, Robert Booth, *Knights;* Thurstan de Holond, Richard de Barton, John de Redish, *Esquires.* 11 Henry VI. [Chantrel is a name which still exists in Manchester; but its origin would not be readily traced. We have seen its old form in a deed, in which it is spelled Chauntemerle, Anglo-Norman, meaning song-thrush. A rather later form is Chaunterelle, another French word, which has more than one signification, implying the string of a lute or violin; and also a decoy-bird. The above William Chantrel was a sergeant-at-law, who seems to have had a good practice as a consulting lawyer in Lancashire, and to have held property in Ancotes. Three years before this deed, Reginald West, Lord la Warre, conveyed to William Chantrell, sergeant-at-law, and John Huntyngdon, clerk, and warden of Manchester, all his park of Blakeley, &c. Indeed, six years before this deed (in 1426), James Strangways and William Chantrell were the king's justiciars for the county palatine, sitting at Lancaster. Again, we learn from the *Cal. Rot. Pat.* that in the 8th Hen. VI. [1430] the king confirmed to John Warre, Esq., kinsman and heir of William Chantemerle, a fair at the vill of Dalwood, Co. Derby.—This deed seems merely

the re-conveyance to Hugh Holinworth of what he had before granted to William Chantrel.] In connexion with the transfer of these lands and tenements, we have the attorneys appointed on both sides to deliver and receive seisin thereof, as follows:

17.— 11th Henry VI. (1432-3). William Chantrel attorns Roger de Oldam to deliver seisin to Hugh Holinworth of all lands which I lately had of the gift of Hugh, in Ancotes.—11 Henry VI.

18. — 18th April, 1433. Hugh de Holinworth attorns Geoffrey de Chaderton to receive seisin of William Chantrel of all lands in Ancotes, 18th April, 11th Henry VI. (1433.)

Still we have not done with the transaction. Two days after the appointment of his attorney, Hugh de Holinworth demises this property, with the newly acquired title which he has got by the demise from William Chantrel, to two other parties, but apparently only that they may re-convey for the joint benefit of himself and his son. The transfers and re-transfers of this property must have found employment for the clerks or the lawyers of that day:

19. — 20th April, 11th Henry VI. (1433). Hugh de Holinworth, demises to Randle de Tildesley, chaplain, and John de Redish, all those lands and tenements, which I lately had of the feoffment of William Chantrel, in Ancotes. — Witnesses: Ed. de Trafford, John de Ratcliff de Ordsal, Robert Both, knights; Thurstan de Holand, Ric. de Barton, Robert de Longley, esquires. — 20th April, 11th Henry VI. (1433.) [Of Randle de Tildesley no notice appears in the pedigree of the family of that name; nor do we find him named in the *History of the Collegiate Church* of the period. John de Redish was doubtless of the old family of that name and place; but we have been unable to find his pedigree.]

20. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Hugh de Holinworth attorns Roger de Oldam to deliver seisin to Randle de Tildesley, chaplain, and John de Redish, of the lands and tenements, which I had in Ancotes. — 11 Henry VI. (1433.)

21. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Randle de Tildesley, chaplain,

and John de Redish, attorn Geoffrey Chadoc [Chadwick], to receive seisin of Hugh Holinworth, of all lands and tenements in Ancotes. — 11 Henry VI.

And now the property having passed to Tildesley and Redish, they reconvey to Hugh de Holinworth and his son Alexander:

22. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Randle de Tildesley, chaplain, and John de Redish, demise to Hugh de Holinworth, and Alexander de Holinworth, his son, all the lands and tenements which we lately had of the demise of the said Hugh, in Ancotes. Witnesses: Edmund de Trafford, John Ratcliff de Ordsal, Robert Both, knights; Thurstan de Holand, Richard de Barton, Robert Longley, esquires. — 11th Henry VI.

23. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Randle de Tildesley, chaplain, and John de Redish, attorn Roger de Oldam to deliver seisin to Hugh de Holinworth, and Alexander, his son, of all lands which lately we had of the gift of Hugh and Alexander. — 11th Henry VI.

24. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Hugh de Holinworth, and Alexander his son, attorn Geoffrey de Chadwick to receive seisin of Randle de Tildesley, chaplain, and John de Redish, of lands in Ancotes. — 11th Henry VI.

Still we have not done with it; the property changes hands once more:

25. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Hugh de Holinworth and Alexander his son, demise to John Byron, knight, all the lands and tenements, which we lately had of the feoffment of Randle Tildesley, chaplain, and John Reddish, in Ancotes; yielding 10s. at the nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses: Edmund Trafford, Jno. de Ratclif de Ordsal, Robt. Both, knights; Thurstan de Holand, Richd. de Barton, Otho de Redish. — 11 Henry VI.

26. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). Hugh de Holinwood and Alexander his son, attorn Roger de Oldam to deliver seisin to John Byron, knight, of all land which we lately had of the gift of Randle de Tildesley, chaplain, and John de Redish, in Ancotes.

27. — 11th Henry VI. (1433). John de Byron, Knight, attorns

Geoffrey de Chadwick, to receive seisin of Hugh Holinworth, and Alexander his son of all lands in Ancotes. 11th Henry VI.

And here for the first time, we find a something to be paid, in the nature of a yearly rent, though only of 10s. These thirteen documents within five years, all relating to the same property, show the complicated machinery by which, in the olden time, real transfers were effected. It also supplies three generations of the same family,— Thomas de Holinworth the elder, Hugh his son, and Alexander the son of Hugh. We may trace the family through two other generations; for an indenture 24th May, 34 Henry VI. [1456], 23 years after the last deed, states that Thomas Holyngworth, son and heir of Thomas Holyngworth, late of Holyngworth, swore upon the holy evangelists that he was duly seised to himself and his heirs in fee simple of all the messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements, in Manchester, on the 21st May last past; and on the 22nd May in the same year, the same Thomas, son of Thomas, attorned Edmund Hunt and Olyver Albyn to deliver seisin from him of all his messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in the vill of Manchester, which land and tenements, "in Ancotes" were then in possession of Nicholas Biron, Esq., or his feoffees. We cannot say what relationship, if any, these two Thomas Holingworths bore to the Alexander of 23 years earlier. In 1473-4, a moiety of Ancotes was held by John Biron, Esq., of Clayton, in socage, for which he paid 3s. 4d; and the other moiety, by Bartin Trafford, for 3s. 4d. yearly. Here then we find, towards the latter end of the 15th century, the hamlet of Ancotes seems to have been equally divided between two of the great territorial families of the neighbourhood,- – the Byrons and the Traffords.

We may here find place for two documents, which we cannot well include in the numbered series, but which relate to Ancoats. One, the date of which is illegible, but in all probability about 1373, runs thus:

Henry de Trafford remits to John, son of Nicholas de Trafford all my right in all those messuages, lands, rents, and services,

which the said John holds in Ancotes, in the vill of Mamecestre. Dated at Ancotes, Thursday after the feast of St. Lucy, virgin. .... [That feast was on the 13th, or according to some on the 3rd December, and we believe the year to be 1373. The imperfect pedigree in Baines gives us no clue to the individual members of the Trafford family named in this deed. Of two named Nicholas, one is simply named as a fifth son, and the other as a third son, dying without issue.] — The next deed is apparently a duplicate of the last, except that it is more legible and explicit, and calls the grantor, knight:

Henry de Trafford, knight, remits to John son of Nicholas de Trafford all my right in all land, &c., which he holds of me for the term of his life, in Ancotes, in the vill of Mamecestre. Dated at Trafford, Thursday next after the feast of St. Lucy, virgin, 47 Edw. III. [Dec. 1373. Both deeds would seem to have been executed on the same day.]

In the rental of Thomas West, lord of Manchester, taken at Manchester on the 1st May, 13th Edward IV. [1472], are the following entries, under the head of "Socage Tenants, near Manchester:"

"John Biron, Esq. holds the half of two messuages and two and a half bovates of land in Antecotes, near Manchester, and grinds his grain at the said lord's mill of Manchester, by service of the same, and in socage, and renders yearly..... $3^s\ 4^d$

[After an interpolation respecting the holding of Henry Trafford in Chorlton, comes the following entry, which doubtless relates to Ancotes:]

"Bartrinus Trafford holds the other half of the two messuages aforesaid of the said lord, by the same service to grind his corn at the said mill, and renders yearly.... .... $3^s\ 4^d$"

In sir O. Mosley's copy of the same rental, it is thus stated:

"Ancotes, near Manchester.—A moiety hereof was held by the said John Biron, Esq. in socage, for which he paid yearly

3s 4d; and the other moiety by Bartrinus Trafford, for 3s 4d yearly."

The 16th Century.

Amongst the inquisitions post mortem calendared in the *Ducatus Lancastriæ,* we find that in the 17th Henry VII. [1501–2] Richard West, Lord la Warre, *inter alia,* held the hamlet of Ancotes. In the 21st Henry VIII. [1529–30] Edmund de Trafford, knight, held messuages, lands, &c. in Ancotes. In the 36th of that reign [1544–5] Edmund Entwysell held messuages and lands there. In the 6th Elizabeth [1563–4] Edmund Trafford, knight, held lands, &c. in Ancotes. In the 32nd of Elizabeth [1589–90], another Edmund Trafford had possessions there. In 1581 we find "Ancotts" included in the recovery of John Byron's land in Lancashire.

The 17th Century.

It was early in this century that the estate and hall of Ancoats passed into the possession of the Mosleys, who also acquired by purchase, the lordship, barony or manor of Manchester. They were originally a Didsbury family. The three sons of Edmund Mosley of Didsbury, were the first of the family closely connected with the manor of Manchester. Oswald, the eldest, resided at Garratt Hall; the second son, Sir Nicholas, Knight, of London, purchased the manor of Manchester in 1596; filled the office of Lord Mayor of London in 1599; died at the age of 85, and was buried in Didsbury church. Anthony, the third son (as we learn from the Mosley family *Memoirs,* privately printed by the present Sir Oswald Mosley), had the principal management of the clothing trade, at Manchester, by which both his brother Sir Nicholas and himself were enriched. By industry and frugality he acquired a very considerable fortune, and towards the end of his life he was enabled to purchase the estate and mansion of Ancoats (which became the future residence of his family) from Sir John Byron,

Knight, and John Byron, Esq., his son and heir. Anthony Mosley married Alicia, daughter of Richard Webster, of Manchester, gentleman, by whom he had five sons. Anthony Mosley died at the age of 70, in 1607; and was succeeded in the Ancoats estate by his eldest son, Oswald Mosley, Esq., who also became possessed of considerable property in the neighbourhood of Stockport, in right of his wife. He died, aged 47, in the year 1630.* His eldest son, Nicholas, was baptised in 1611, and for several years resided at the paternal mansion, Ancoats Hall. He adhered to the cause of Charles I., and in 1643 had his estates confiscated. But on the 18th August 1646, the House of Commons passed the following resolution: "That the House doth accept the sum of £120, of Nicholas Mosley, of the Ancoates, in the county of Lancaster, gentleman, for a fine for his delinquency; his offence being residing in the enemy's quarters," &c. An order for granting a pardon was the same day sent up to the House of Lords and confirmed. To trace the process by which the Rolleston estate came into the possession of Oswald, son of this Nicholas Mosley, we must pass to another branch of the family. Sir Edward Mosley, second baronet of the name, married in 1665, Catherine, daughter of William, Lord Grey of Wark; upon whom he settled his house and estate at Rolleston. This lady married three times, but left no surviving issue; and upon her death the mansion and estate of Rolleston came into the possession of Oswald Mosley, Esq., son of Nicholas Mosley of Ancoats. This Oswald married in 1670. His eldest son, Oswald, baptised 1671, was created a baronet in the lifetime of his father, who declined the honour, on account of age. Upon the decease of his father, he inherited both the Ancoats and the Rolleston estates; and at the death of Lady Bland, in 1734, he succeeded, under the will of his father, to the manor of

* Two Inquisitions of 7 and 10 of Car. I. (1631–2 and 1634–5) state that Oswald Mosley had messuages and lands in Ancoats, and by one of 12 Car. I. (1636–7) it would seem that Humphrey Booth had messuages and lands in Ancoates within Manchester.

Manchester. The grandfather of the present Sir Oswald Mosley removed his residence to Ancoats, the ancient seat of his ancestors, and from thence he took his title. This would be shortly before the year 1781. Sir Oswald, second baronet of that name, bequeathed his manor, estate and rectory of Rolleston, "the estate of Ancoats," and the manor of Manchester, to his cousin, Sir John Parker Mosley, bart., in the event of his brother (the Rev. John Mosley, rector of Rolleston) and sister dying without issue. This occurred, and Sir John succeeded to the family estates on the death of the Rev. Sir John in 1799. But since that period the head of the family has usually resided at Rolleston. The old hall of Ancoats was pulled down in the last century; and the new one built upon its site, has been for many years the residence of the late George Murray Esq., and of his relict, Mrs. Murray.

MAPS OR PLANS OF MANCHESTER.

NOTHING can more strikingly exhibit the great and rapid extension of Manchester, from a small market town of eight or ten streets to its present metropolitan vastness of area and aggregation of edifices, than the bringing together and comparing the maps or plans of the town at different periods of its existence, especially during the last two centuries. Next in interest to a series of these plans themselves,—and we know nowhere of a perfect series extant, — is a verbal description of them in chronological order; and this we now attempt to give. Of the earlier ones it is scarcely necessary to premise, that they are to a very great degree speculative and hypothetical. We begin the list with one eminently so, that of

B.C. 50.

The Rev. John Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, says that the rude British station of Mancenion, one of the earliest towns in Lancashire, and the first faint outline of the present Manchester, was originally formed about half a century before Christ. The dimensions of Mancenion (continues this writer) are still very discernible. It filled the whole area of the present Castle Field, except the low swampy part of it on the west, and was 12A. 3R. 10P. in extent. Terminated by the windings of the Medlock on the south, south-east and south-west, it was bounded on the east by a fosse, on the west by the present very lofty bank, and on the north by a long and broad ditch. Whitaker gives a delineation of what he calls "the ground-plot of the British Mancenion" (taken August, 1765), which faces page 26 in the first volume of his *History of Manchester* (4to. edition of 1771). In this engraving the only point having the least interest at the present day, is a mill called "Knot Mill" (at the south-east corner of Mancenion), which is placed on the east side of a supposed bridge over the Medlock, and on the south or Hulme bank of the river. This plan, which is briefly noticed page 3 suprâ, is inscribed "To the Rev. Samuel Peploe, chancellor of Chester." The next plan, which is perhaps a little less hypothetical, some outlines of the old Roman *vallum* having been repeatedly traced and carefully laid down, is that of

A.D. 79.

The Rev. J. Whitaker conjectures that the Roman station or *castrum* was commenced on the site of the British Mancenion, in Castle Field, about this period. Its area, he says, was much smaller than the compass of the British town, receding from the east and west barriers of Mancenion. The latter contained nearly thirteen acres statute measure; but the former only about 5A. 10P., or 24,500 square yards. This fort, he says, became a

stationary *castrum* of the Romans, who merely changed the British name into Mancunium. The "ground-plot of Mancunium," taken at the same period as the former one, faces page 38, vol i. of Whitaker's *Manchester*, and is in fact the same as that of Mancenion, with the addition of a paralellogram marking the boundaries of the Roman camp or station. This plan is inscribed to "Roger Sedgwick, M.B. of Manchester."

Whitaker next argues that a summer camp must have been absolutely necessary at Mancunium, and he makes the site to be the area now covered by the Cathedral, Chetham's Hospital, and the adjacent streets; part of which, he says, afterwards became the seat of the Saxon lords of Manchester, and was accordingly denominated the Baron's Hull [hill] and Baron's Yard. He says that the area, — comprised within an ancient ditch along the south and east sides, and the rivers Irwell and Irk, — was exactly 12½ statute acres.

The plan of this supposed summer-camp of the Romans faces vol. i. page 86 of *Manchester*. It delineates "the great fosse" which (says Whitaker) must have been on the site of Toad Lane (now Todd Street) and Hanging Ditch, curving round towards Cateaton Street and Hanging Bridge, and then falling into the Irwell. It also depicts a drawbridge over this fosse, and a gateway at its northern end; the "road to Ribchester" traverses the station or camp from north to south, parallel to the course of the Irwell, along a rocky bank from the Irk to the drawbridge gateway; and midway on this road is another massive gateway. The "Prætorian fosse" encloses a squarish area in the angle at the confluence of the Irwell and Irk. This plan is inscribed "To the Rev. Mr. Aynscough, Fellow of Christ's College, Manchester."

About A.D. 300.

Facing page 355, vol i., of Whitaker's *Manchester* is given "A plan of the original town of Manchester" of about this date, apparently on the site of the Castle Field and north of the Roman

castrum there. This exhibits three streets running from north-east to south-west (the centre one named Ribchester Street, or the ancient Roman road to Ribchester), intersected at right angles by three other streets, from north-west to south-east. At the south-east extremity of this infant town is placed Knott Mill Lane, or Aldport Lane; at the south corner of the engraving, Aldporton Hall, and the Roman road to Buxton; at the north corner Aldporton Fold; and thence, in a line nearly west is a lane, intersecting Ribchester Street, called in the plan "Ticklepitcher Lane," and is apparently on or near the site of the present Liverpool Road (from Deansgate to Water Street), as in the plan it is bounded on the north by Camp Field. This plan is inscribed "To Charles White, Esq. F.R.S."

About A.D. 446.

The frontispiece to the second volume of Whitaker's *History of Manchester* purports to be "a plan of the original town of Manchester about A.D. 446." In its principal features it differs very little from that of A.D. 300. At the north is "Camp Field, so called from an encampment here in 1739" [error; afterwards corrected by Whitaker to 1722]. At the south is the Roman station, with its eastern and western ramparts, and bounded on its north-east side by "the great fosse." Between the station and Camp Field, lie the three long streets and the three cross streets of the town, which in the plan is called "Aldport;" which is separated from Camp Field by "Tickle Lane," the same with the Ticklepitcher Lane of the former plan. The western boundary of the plan is a high bank, separating the town from "a morass;" and at the eastern boundary of the town are Knott Mill Lane, or Aldport Lane, with "the Roman road to Buxton" passing south-west of "Aldport Hall," while in "Aldport Field," east of Aldport Lane, stands a building, or group of buildings, forming three sides of a quadrangle, and named "Aldport Fold." This plan is inscribed to "Mr. James Whitaker, attorney, of Salford, the Brother and the Friend."

About A.D. 627.

The plan of Saxon Manchester, as it was supposed to exist about this date, faces page 404, vol. ii., of Whitaker's *Manchester*. It is entitled "A Plan of the present town of Manchester about the year 627." It is on a much smaller scale than that of preceding plans, as it represents both the old Roman-British town at Castle Field and Knott Mill and the new town, at the other extremity of Deansgate; on a scale of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a statute pole. In the right top or south corner is depicted a fancy sketch of the old town of Aldporton, with a large castle, having a square centre tower or keep; its extremities flanked by circular towers. Near it is a church, with square tower, from the top of which springs a short broach or spire. The remainder of the town seems to be (with the exception of one building having a circular dome) a cluster of ordinary houses, interspersed with trees. This is marked on the plan as "the original town of Manchester and its castle." From a gate at its northern end issues the "Deansgate," which extends to near the site of the old Salford bridge. Midway on its east side is a lane (extending easterly) called St. Mary's Gate, and leading to a lozenge-shaped enclosure named Acres Field, in the centre of which stands on an elevation St. Mary's Church, a building of five or six buttressed bays, and a tower at its west end, surmounted by a short spire and cross. Its doors and windows are circular-headed. On the opposite or west side of Deansgate, in a semicircular enclosure, stands a long low dwelling of one storey, close to the line of street, and named "The Parsonage House." The site is supposed to be that where the *Manchester Gazette* was first published by the late Mr. Cowdroy. Three large fields between it and the west side of Deansgate, and the river Irwell, are called "The Parsonage Fields." At the left, or north corner, at the foot of the plan, we find, on a smaller scale than that described above (of vol. i., page 186), a representation of the river Irwell, where "the great fosse"

is depicted as falling into it; but later Mr. Whitaker, in MS. corrections, altered the title of "great fosse" to "Hanging Ditch," with its Hanging Bridge and gateway; a "field" within the enclosure; the "Prætorian fosse" (supposed to have been on the site of the late Ring o' Bells public house) encompassing the baron's yard, represented by a quadrangle, of which three sides are low edifices, with circular towers at the angles, and the fourth side is the two storeyed building of the College (now the Hospital, School, and Library), with a central octagonal tower, terminating in a cupola. In this plan Deansgate is a lane bordered by hedgerows and trees, and the only house delineated in its whole length from north to south is the Parsonage. Precisely similar is St. Mary's Gate, with one house, so that the whole of the edifices in new, or North Manchester (apart from the co-existing old and southern Aldporton), as shown in the plan, were the church, the parsonage, and the baron's manor-house. This plan does not extend to the Irk, nor does it show the site of the baron's mill. This plan is inscribed in the engraving "To Robert Jones, Esq. Park Street, near the Abbey, Westminster;" but a subsequent MS. correction by Whitaker himself alters the name to "Thomas Jones."

About A.D. 800.

The last plan given by Whitaker in the second volume of his *Manchester* is entitled "A Ground-plot of the present town of Manchester about the year 800;" and it faces page 498. The main features of the plan are the same as of that last noticed. Little, if any, alteration is made in the drawing (in perspective) of the British-Roman town. But another road to St. Mary's church is shown, by a narrow lane between hedgerows, named Toll Lane, a little south of the Parsonage, and on or near the site of the present St. Ann's Street. Toll Lane was the only entrance for cattle and other live stock to Acres Field, for the fair; and the toll being there collected, gave the lane this name.

From the Parsonage House northwards the green hedges of the Deansgate of A.D. 627 are transformed into houses, on both sides the street, which is the case also with St. Mary's Gate, which, at its east end, besides opening into the Acres Field, or garth surrounding St. Mary's church, has direct communication with an almost square space, even at that period marked as "The Market Place," and built round on three sides, the fourth or south side being formed by the boundary hedge or fence of Acres Field. From the two corners of the north side of the Market Place, two streets extend northward to the great fosse or Hanging Ditch, — viz: "Smithy Door" (which leads direct to the Hanging Bridge, and is said to terminate in a smithy) and "The Millgate" (now Old Millgate), which leads to a water-mill on the south bank of the fosse or Hanging Ditch. In the plan this mill is shown in elevation, with a large undershot wheel, the wear at the upper end and the mill-race at the lower, through which the water returns to the fosse. In the Market Place, near the entrance of Old Millgate, is represented an old market cross, upon a pedestal, which has three circular steps for its base. This, it is to be supposed, was the oldest cross on the site of that which was removed when the old fish market was built. The Saxon town, therefore, in this plan, exhibits the market place and four main streets, besides the lord's manor-house, the parish church, the parsonage, the corn-mill, and the smithy. Whitaker asserts that this Manchester was founded about A.D. 627; and he here represents what he thinks was its growth in nearly 200 years, and its state about the same space of time prior to the Norman conquest. This plan is inscribed "To the Rev. Mr. Cradock, of Asheton, near Manchester."

A.D. 800.

In Everett's *Panorama of Manchester* (1834), facing page 14, is a plan of the town at this date, very similar to that just described; but it has differences, and is probably a distinct plan. Whitaker

claims to have made his own, while Everett's is entitled "A plan of the ancient town of Manchester, taken in the year 800. Copied from the original in the possession of William Hulton, Esq., Hulton Park." In Whitaker's plan the old castle is represented as dilapidated and dismantled, and the upper part of the round towers as in ruin. The old church, in the same neighbourhood, has a square tower, with four angle pinnacles, and from its roof rises a short spire. The angle towers of the baron's yard have conical or sugar-loaf roofs. The old church of St. Mary, Acres Field, has a conical roof, and round arched windows. The miller's house stands lineable with the mill on Hanging Ditch. In Everett's plan, the old castle is represented as perfect, with the turrets and battlements complete, the round towers having domed roofs; and the gateway is a proportionately high arch, extending to the roof of the main building. The old church near the castle has a slender square tower, from which springs a square or pyramidal roof and broach, like that of a French *pavillon*. The corner turrets of the baron's yard have domed roofs or cupolas; and the tower of St. Mary's Church, Acres Field, has a like roof, and its windows seem square-headed. The miller's house is partly behind the mill, and consequently the width of the mill out of the line. The scale is smaller than that of Whitaker's, and there are other minor differences between the two plans, which would seem to indicate distinct origins.

There is an interval of 850 years, during which, so far as we know, no plan of Manchester appeared, or if ever made, none is known to be extant. About the middle of the 17th century there appeared to be a renewed desire for a plan of Manchester, and two or three were made and engraved about the year 1650; which we shall now notice.

A.D. 1650.

"A plan of Manchester and Salford, taken about 1650," is given in Everett's *Panorama of Manchester*, facing p. 30. It is

doubtless a copy of a reduced (engraved) plan of Manchester and Salford taken about 1650, stated to have been drawn from a plan then in the possession of William Yates, Esq. (formerly of Broughton), by John Palmer, architect, 1822, and which formed the frontispiece to Palmer's *History of the Siege of Manchester*, printed that year. This plan is remarkable as exhibiting the progress made in the extension of the town, and the commencement of Salford, and the changes effected in the space of eight centuries and a half. First to notice what has disappeared in this lapse of time, supposing Everett's plan of 800 to be a correct delineation of the town as it then stood, which seems not very improbable. The plan does not extend so far south as Knott Mill, but the church has disappeared from the centre of St. Ann's Square; the great and the prætorian fosses have been filled up and built over, and the mill upon the bank of the former has, of course, disappeared. In the uniform line of buildings in Deansgate no trace remains of the Parsonage House. The erection of the Old Collegiate and Parish Church on the ground between the great fosse and the prætorian fosse, appears to have been attended with the natural result, the extension of buildings around its neighbourhood, and several long streets are found to branch out in different directions: Deansgate to the south, Market Stead Lane eastward, Long Millgate extending north-east, and several future streets marked out as hedged lanes. In this plan, the whole of the ground between Smithy Door and the Market Place is occupied by a building of irregular shape, having a sort of court yard, the entrance being by a gate from the Market Place; and this building, marked A in the plan, is explained by a reference below to be the "Sessions House." On the space now for the most part covered by the fish-market, there is a cross delineated on the plan, and this was probably a market cross at that period — now two hundred years ago. At that time, according to this plan, the town of Manchester consisted of about eleven or twelve streets, viz., the Market Place, Market Stead Lane, Old Millgate and Long Millgate, Deansgate, Smithy Door, Cateaton Street, Hanging

Ditch and Toad Lane, Hunt's Bank, Fennel Street, and Withy Grove; the last terminating in a lane or road between hedge-rows, bounded by fields both north and south. Salford had then its chapel, which marked the termination of the township buildings westward; thence to the old bridge and the street now called Chapel Street, but which was then Sergeant Street; and the street running north, not named on the plan, but now well known as Greengate. The Gravel Lane, which is not named on the plan, then existed as a path or road to the church from the neighbourhood of the upper part of Greengate; the cross and a small building (the Salford Hundred Court-house) are depicted as occupying the centre of the wide part of the street, near the present approach to the iron bridge. The plan shows only one bridge across the Irwell, viz., the old bridge at the foot of Cateaton Street. The Irk had four small bridges over it—one at Hunt's Bank, one at the end of Toad Lane (Millbrow), a third at the end of a lane which we suppose to be the present Miller Street, and this bridge is called in the plan *Tanner Bridge,* occupying, in all probability, nearly the same site as the present Ducie Bridge; and the fourth apparently on the site of the present Scotland Bridge, there being a lane on the north bank of the river—the present Red Bank; and another lane on the south bank of the river, in the position and direction of the present Ashley Lane. No part of the town reached so far south as the river Medlock. Indeed the town was confined within a little circle round the old church, having three arms extending into the surrounding fields, viz., Long Millgate, Market Stead Lane, and Deansgate. Between the two latter streets (neither of them of their present length) were five or six fields, in one of which (probably the Pool Fold) stood the old residence, marked in the plan Radcliffe Hall; and in another, which from its situation must have been Acres Field, were two buildings. In a field, south-west of Pool Fold, is a place marked as "The Fountain," which gave its name to the present Fountain Street. Near the south-east corner of the plan, on the opposite side of Market Stead Lane, but beyond the buildings, is delineated a large house, stated to be

"Mr. Lever's house," on the site of the White Bear Inn, Piccadilly, part of which was formerly called Lever's Row. Again, between Market Stead Lane and Withy Grove there were four extensive fields, in one of which stood a circular building, "The Cockpit," which has given its name and site to Cockpit Hill. The Withy Grove Lane extended along the site of the present Shude-hill to where the lane (now Miller Street) joined it; and the space between these lanes or roads, Long Millgate and Toad or Tod Lane, comprised three large fields. The only house in the fields north of the river Irk (now Strangeways) was one marked in the plan as "Mr. Knowles's house." Between the extremity of Deansgate and the river were six gardens, styled "The New Gardens," which appear to have been very spacious, and situated, in all probability, near that part of Deansgate between Bridge Street and Hardman Street, and extending in a north-easterly direction nearly to the river. The only orchard visible on the plan is one in Salford, extending southward from Sergeant Street to the river, about the site of the present Blackfriars Street.*

A.D. 1650.

We have still another plan to notice, taken about this time, an engraving of which will be found in the corner of Laurent's large plan of Manchester 1793, facing Dr. Aikin's *History of the Country round Manchester*. Its chief variations are that Withy Grove is called *Withing* Grove, and its continuation is named Shude Hill; the line of the old footpath by the tower of the Collegiate Church is called "Back o'th' Church;" the Sessions House is described as "now the long room;" and, in the spot where a sort of market cross is represented in Everett's or Palmer's plan, is a square

* It was in great part from this plan, aided by information from other quarters, that the plan of 1650 was constructed, which was engraved as the frontispiece to *The Manchester Court Leet Records in the 16th Century* (vol. lxiii. of the Chetham Society). To that plan and the explanations given of its chief features, pp. 62–64 of the same volume, the reader is referred for information as to this period.

building called the Meal House. The main street, now "Market Street," is called, as we had before suggested, "Market Stead Lane;" *Long* Millgate has not the adjectival appellation; and Cateaton Street, from Smithy Door to the Bridge, is named Smithy *Bank*. In Salford, Sergeant Street extends from the Old Bridge to Trinity Chapel; beyond which, westward, it is called Salford Street; Gravel Lane is marked out, and the present Greengate, from Sergeant Street to Gravel Lane, is called "Back Salford." A scale accompanies this plan, an important adjunct, in which the others are deficient; and the divisions of the fields north of the Irk vary from those in the other plans of this date.

A.D. 1710–1730.—"*South-West Prospect.*"

There is a panoramic view of Manchester and Salford, without date, but which was probably published within the first quarter of the last century, copies of which may be seen in the reading-room of Chetham's Library, and in that of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution. It is about a yard in length, and a few inches only in depth. A scroll at the top of the plan is inscribed "The south-west prospect of Manchester and Salford." It is thus dedicated:—"To the Hon. Ann Lady Dowager Bland, lady of the Manor of Manchester, this plate is most humbly inscribed by her ladyship's most obedient, humble servant, Robert Whitworth." At the foot of the plan are also "I. Harris, sculp." and "London: sold by J. Bowles, at the Black Horse, in Cornhill." This "prospect" represents St. Ann's Church (so named after Lady Ann Bland, who contributed largely to its erection), which was erected in 1708; and Lady Ann Bland, to whom the view is dedicated, died in 1734; so that within these years the view must have been published. Beginning at the left end of the "prospect," and copying the references at the foot, they stand as follow:—1. Trinity Chapel, Salford; 2. Mr. Miles Nield's house; 3. The College; 4. Christ Church (the Collegiate Church); 5. The (Old) Bridge and Dungeon (a house on the Salford end of the bridge); 6. The Spaw House

(a long house of one storey, with a horsing-block near the door, on the Salford side of the river, the site of which was till lately occupied by the Lying-in Hospital, opposite the New Bailey, Stanley Street); 7. Mr. Moss's wharf for boats, &c. (which appears to have been between Parsonage and that end of Water Street and the river); 8. The Rock House (which is near the river on the Manchester side and between it and No. 10); 9. The Seven Houses in Parsonage (now North Parade); 10. The late Mr. Houghton's summer house; 11. Mr. Wilson's cupola; 12. The Exchange; 13. Mr. Marsden's cupola (the house will be subsequently noticed); 14. Mr. Wilkinson's garden (on the Manchester side of the river, between it and Dole Field, and opposite the Spaw House); 15. Mr. Butterworth's cupola; 16. St. Ann's Church; 17. Dole Field (an enclosed space of some extent, with felled trunks of trees lying about in it); 18. The late Mr. Nicholson's; 19. Mr. Brown's great house (a large house rising above the surrounding dwellings, with sundry turrets); 20. Mr. Sedgwick's garden, &c. (a garden between the river and No. 21, near Deansgate); 21. Mr. Longworth's house (this is probably the same building afterwards called "Longworth's Folly"); 22. Mr. Guy's building; 23. Mr. Hawkswell's building; 24. Mr. Pinkethman's, &c.'s building; and 25. The river Irwell. There are some few variances between this "prospect" and "the south-west view" noticed in the next paragraph, apparently published in 1751; but "the view," though differing in some respects, chiefly in the foreground, is evidently in part borrowed from the "prospect."

A.D. 1751.

A plan of this date has been lent to us, which forms a small 4to book, and altogether gives so curious and interesting a picture of the town in the middle of the last century, that we shall transcribe a considerable portion of its letter-press. The following is the title-page to this curious little volume:

A *Complete Map of the Towns of Manchester and Salford*, with all the inclosures and gardens bordering on the same. Also the river, and other

decorations as render this map not only useful but also beautiful. The plan of the towns is laid down by a scale of twenty inches to a mile, and truly describes all the squares, streets, lanes, alleys, &c., to the present year 1751. In this map is also a curious *south-west prospect of Manchester and Salford;* also a prospect of the three churches, St. Ann's Square, the College, Exchange, Key, twelve gentlemen's houses, &c. Also a description of the towns from the foundation, down to this present time, gathered from the best records. In this map is also a *plan of the towns taken about* 1650, laid down by a scale of ten inches to a mile, by which it appears that there were not in the towns at that time, *above* 24 *streets, lanes, &c.*, and by the new plan now published, there are *about* 160 streets, lanes, &c., the chief increase of which hath been within these 50 years past. A description of the inhabitants and the towns, in the plan taken in 1650, is printed on a paper by itself, just as it was then wrote, and is given gratis to the purchasers of the above map. This map, with the great additions, is engraved by Mr. Benjamin Cole, of London; and sold by J. Berry, grocer, at the new tea warehouse, near the Cross, in Manchester. Price bound, two shillings.

The local situation, latitude, and name of Manchester are minutely stated, and the writer then adds:

This town and that of Salford (which is divided from it by the river Irwell) seems to be but one in extent; the streets several of them are large, open, and well paved; and within thirty years last past the town is become almost twice as large as it was before, so fast have its inhabitants and their riches increased. A new parish has been erected, and a large sumptuous church therein built, called St. Ann's; also two chapels, one in the town, and the other at a small distance from it; also several streets, squares, &c., are new built, and many of the new houses are elegant and magnificent structures. Of the ancient buildings here, two in particular are worthy a remark, *i. e.*, the Old Church of St. Mary's, and the Hospital. The Old Church is of the Collegiate sort, as there belongs to it at present a college, consisting of one warden, four fellows, two chaplains, four singing men, and four choristers. The college was originally founded by Thomas West, brother to the Lord De-la-ware, and then it consisted of one master or keeper, eight fellows, four chaplains, and six choristers, in honour of the Virgin Mary, to whom the parish church was before dedicated, of St. Dennis

or Dionise of France, and of St. George of England; and it was endowed by its founder with a glebe of 800 Lancashire acres, together with a considerable part of the town called Dean's-gate, for St. Dionises Gate, and with the tithes of the parish lying in 32 hamlets. It was founded anew by Queen Elizabeth in 1578, by the name of Christ's College in Manchester, which foundation was afterwards confirmed by King Charles the First in 1636, and incorporated by the same name, the statutes for it being drawn up by Archbishop Laud. The other remarkable old building is the Hospital, though indeed it is only old comparatively with the new parts of the town; it is the foundation of Humphrey Chetham, Esq., about 100 years ago; where 60 poor boys are well maintained, who are admitted betwixt the years of six and ten, furnished with meat, drink, washing and clothes, till the age of fourteen, and then they are bound out apprentices at the charge of the said hospital; for the support of which that worthy gentleman left £420 a year, which, by the prudent management of the ffeoffees, is considerably improved: here also, by the bounty of the same benefactor, is erected a large school for the hospital, or blue boys, where they are daily instructed to read and write, as also a large library, furnished with several thousands of books, which are always increasing, there being left by him about £100 a year to be laid out on books, and also £20 a year for a librarian. The river Irwell, which washes a great part of the town, is now made navigable, and a handsome key is erected for unloading, &c. The number of houses, by a moderate computation, is about 6,000, and the number of inhabitants about 30,000; and perhaps this town is not inferior, in this respect of number, to any parts of London itself of the same compass. They had a very good character given them about 100 years ago in an old plan* of this place; there it is said of them that want and waste are strangers to them; ruin and disorders are foreigners from them; courtesy and charity are inhabitants with them; civility and religion dwell among them. It is hoped that the present inhabitants deserve a good character as much as any town so large and populous. They are in particular known to be industrious people; the reason of their being so numerous is the flourishing trade followed here, for a long time known by the name of Manchester trade, which not only makes the town but the country round about for

* This is doubtless the description printed with the plan of 1650, which we have not been able to meet with.

several miles populous, industrious, and wealthy. The trade consists chiefly of three general branches, viz., the fustian or cotton manufactures, the check trade, and smallwares. The fustian manufactures, called Manchester cottons, has been long in this place and neighbourhood, and is of late much improved by several modern inventions in dyeing and printing. The check trade includes several articles, as stuffs for aprons, gowns, shirts, ticking, bolstering, &c. But the smallware business comprehends most, as inckle, lace of many sorts, tapes, filleting, &c. All these trades employ both a great number and almost all sorts of hands, not only of men both rich and poor, but of women and children, even of five or six years old, who, by spinning, winding, or weaving, may earn more here than in any other part of the kingdom. They are not either a corporation or borough, yet they exceed most corporations or boroughs in the kingdom in populousness, riches, and plenty. There is not any town in the nation, excepting our seaports, that may be compared to it in trade, as appears from the number of packs of goods, which go weekly out of the town, which amount in a moderate computation to 500. Besides the fairs here and in Salford, there are three markets kept weekly, viz., on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The Tuesday and Thursday markets are chiefly upon the account of trade; and that on Saturday for trade as well as provisions. Trade is as it were the life and soul of this place and neighbourhood, for without it not one-half of the inhabitants could be supported. May it continue and flourish to distant ages.

Then follows a list of the streets and public places and buildings, with references to them as marked on the plan of the town. As exhibiting the number of streets, their names, the extent of the town, and its public edifices in 1751, we copy this list:

Catnest, Scotland, Smithy Lane, Mill Hill, Mill Street, Gibraltar, Mill Gate, Mill Lane, Alms House, Intended Workhouse, Shude Hill, Queen Street (Shudehill), Merchant Street, Union Street, Nicholas Field, Sugar Lane, Withing Grove, Pin Fold, Garden Lane, Toad Lane, Fennel Street, Hanging Ditch, Tanners' Lane, Chetham Court, Hunter's Lane, Half Street, Cateaton Street, Old Mill Gate, Market Place, Shambles, Exchange, Smithy Door, Swan Entry, Hanging Bridge, Hunt's Bank, Back o'th' Church, Christ Church, St. Mary's Gate, Coffee House Entry, Market-street Lane, Cockpit Hill, Sun Entry, Eccles Walk, Daube Holes, Steeple End, Paradise Court, House of Correction, The College, Hide Park, Meal House, Queen Street,

St. James's Square, St. James's Street, Brown's Street, Spring Gardens, High Street, Marsden's Square, Marsden's Street, Mr. Dickenson's Chapell, Dissenters' Meeting House, St. Ann's Church, Meeting House Walk, Mr. Nichol's House, St. James's Street, Marsden's Row, Pall Mall, Queen Street (upper end of King Street), Poole Fold, Tib Lane, Acres Court, Square, Queen Street (St. Ann's Square), St. Ann's Church, Back Square, Toll Lane, Ridge Field Lane, Ridge Field, Greave's Entry, Clowes Street, Seven Foot Lane, Synagogue Alley, South Hall Fields, Fox Entry, Queen Street (top of Deansgate), Mount Lane, Quakers' Meeting House, Jackson's Row, Mount, Bootle Street, Yates Street, All Port Town, Kay Street, Kay, Cupid's Alley, Spinning Fields, Wood Street, Parsonage Croft, Seven Houses, Parsonage Bank, Parsonage Lane, Deans Gate, Smithy Bank, Dickinson's Croft, Shepherd's Court, King Street, Back King Street, Salford Street, Back Salford, Salford Chapel, Gravel Lane, Salford Cross and Court House, Spaw House, Wring Spiget Hall, Dawson's Croft, Sandy Well Lane, Sandy Well, Walker's Street, Red Lyon Street.

Next to this list comes a long narrow panoramic view of the towns (already alluded to as similar to one previously noticed), entitled "The South-West Prospect of Manchester and Salford," on a scale of "four chains in an inch; twenty inches in a mile." It is a very pleasant picture, showing a long range of ordinary dwellings, amidst which rise the towers of the Collegiate Church, the then new St. Ann's, Acres Field, and Trinity Chapel, Salford. The land to some distance on both sides the river consists of fields, orchards, and gardens; in the foreground, on the Salford side of the river, are eight mounted sportsmen, with five dogs, hunting a hare; some pedestrians are joining the chase, and one man in advance of the first horseman has just measured his length on the turf. Poor Puss is but a few yards in advance, and seems likely to be run down about the site of the present Bury Street or St. Stephen's Street. The inhabitants are strolling about the fields, or fishing or boating in the then "fair Irwell." A boat is delivering a few casks at a rude wharf, and within the same enclosure are some pieces of timber and two sacks. A *flat* is coming down the river; and these are all the symbols, in this picture, of the trade

of Manchester at that period. To this "prospect" follow twelve engraved representations of public buildings, two on a page. The first is Christ's (the Collegiate) Church, exhibiting the old half-gates at the entrance door nearest the parish table, and in the yard not more than half-a-dozen flat and two raised tomb-stones. The old dial is there, but not surrounded with palisades as of late years. The second view is "Trinity Church, Salford;" the third, "St. Ann's Church," then a modern structure; the fourth, "The College," to which the entrance gate is placed in the outer wall, nearly opposite the centre of the long east wing. The fifth is "Mr. Floyd's house, near St. Ann's Square," now the houses opposite Sir B. Heywood and Co.'s bank, St. Ann's Street; the sixth, "Mr. Marsden's house in Market-street Lane," the old house with a central turret, opposite the (then) *Guardian* Office, which was pulled down to make room for Messrs. Hardy and Unthank's buildings; the seventh, "Francis Reynolds, Esq., Strangeways Hall;" the eighth, "Messrs. Clowes's house at Hunt's Bank" (now the Manchester and Leeds Railway Station); the ninth, "Mr. Croxton's house in King Street" (on the site of the Town Hall); the tenth, "The Key" (the germ of the Old Quay Company's wharf), a yard, with a warehouse and a few casks in it, and a sloop lying alongside; the eleventh, "Mr. Marriott's house in Brown's Street" (now occupied by the new warehouses of Messrs. Yates and Williams and others); and the twelfth, "The *Exchange*" (which stood in the centre of the area between the present Exchange and Smithy Door), a building consisting of a centre supported by four columns, upon which rests a pediment, and between which are three arches, affording a public passage through the building; and two small wings, ornamented by *antæ*. There are but two windows on the ground floor, those in the wings; and five in the second floor. Around and within the principal plan of the town are several other residences depicted, viz., "John Bradshaw, Esq.'s house;" "Mr. Haworth's house in Millgate" (which, except the palisades, has still much the same external appearance; it is the Manchester Arms Inn, Long Millgate); "Mr. Touchet's house in

Deansgate;" "Mr. Dickinson's house, at the top of Market-street Lane," the late Palace Inn. In the plate it is represented as having a flagged court in front, with a stone gateway opening into the street. The other houses represented are those of Mr. Johnson (at the top of Cannon Street); and "Messrs. Miles Bower and Son's houses," which, by the plan itself, appear to be situate on the west side of Deansgate, at some distance back from the line of street, and about half-way between Spinning Fields and Cupid's Alley. In one corner of the plan is represented St. Ann's Square, with St. Ann's Church at the top, the houses on each side apparently substantial dwellings of opulent inhabitants, with balustrades running along the roofs of some; and the footpath on each side the square bordered by a row of trees. In another corner of the plan is a copy of the plan of 1650, already so often noticed. The plan itself (of 1751) is entitled, "A plan of the towns of Manchester and Salford, in the county palatine of Lancashire, published by John Berry, grocer, at the new Tea Warehouse, in Manchester." By this plan we see that the original spacious area, called the Market Place, had been, to a great extent, covered by the erection of shambles on the site of the present fish-market, and of the old Exchange on the site now occupied by the large gas pillar. The present Exchange Street was then blocked up by two unsightly buildings, leaving a narrow and crooked court on each side as the only communications from the Market Place to the Square. The court on the east side was called Acres Court; and that on the west, which appears to have been an archway, was named Coffee-house Entry. Parsonage Lane led from Deansgate to Parsonage Bank (now Parsonage); and the Parsonage Croft, with two footpaths crossing it cornerwise, occupied the site now covered by St. Mary's Church and yard. North Parade is marked in the plan "7 houses." Bank Street, St. Ann's Square, is marked in the plan Walker Street; and Marsden Street, Chapel Walks, and St. Ann's Street, are there marked respectively as Marsden's Row, Meeting-house Walk, and Queen Street (parallel to King Street). It was called "Queen Street, St. Ann's," up to

comparatively a very recent period. Both the present Back Square and Half Moon Street (lanes on opposite sides of, and parallel to, the Square) are marked on the plan Back Square. The upper and wider part of King Street, from Brown Street to Pall Mall, was then called St. James's Square, and that part from Brown Street to Spring Gardens was named St. James's Street. The square in Back King Street, now called St. James's Square, was then St. James's Street. King Street and Back King Street did not then extend down to Deansgate, but only to a street parallel to it, the present Police Street and Ridge Field, then called Clowes Street; from which Ridge Field Lane and Ridge Fields communicated with Deansgate; the four Ridge Fields lying between the two King Streets, at the back of the houses on that side of Deansgate. The Dog Entry was then Synagogue Alley; the present Sounding Alley was called Greaves's Entry; and Back Ridge Field was then, as long afterwards, called Sot's Hole. In that part of Ridge Field nearest Mulberry Street, stood Mr. Nicholl's house. Tasle Street was then Dickenson's Croft, and Poole-street, South Hall Field. The top of Queen Street was then called the Mount. Jackson's Row was then called Jackson's Street, and the upper part of it is now named the Mount. The Friends' Meeting House was then in Jackson's Street, with a dead wall next Deansgate. The present Peter Street was then a short street out of Deansgate, called Yates Street, and opposite was Kay (still Quay) Street, leading down to the "Kay;" on its south side, "Mr. Phillips' house." The "Aldporton," or Hooperton of one period, had become "All Port Town." Passing up Market Street, a little above Pool Fold, that street in which the Thatched House Tavern now stands was then an entry (in which stood the Meal House), leading to a space marked "H. Park," meaning Hide or Hyde Park, afterwards covered by the (late) New Market. The site of the Infirmary was then a field; the place occupied by its pond was a marshy pool, called "Daub Holes;" and Portland Street was "Garrot Lane." The Swan Entry led from Smithy Door to Old Millgate, through the late Butter Market. The maze of lanes

between the Market Place, Market Street, and Cannon Street, then bore the names of Cockpit Hill, Sun Entry, Eccles Walk, &c. The lower part of Cannon Street was then Hunter's Lane, the upper part was still fields and gardens; the Apple Market was named "Back o'th' Church," and that path between the tower and the river, since so called, was then "Steeple End." About half-way up what is now Palace Street, on the left side, stood "Mr. Dickenson's [Catholic] Chapel." The present Bridgewater Place (High Street) and Garden Street were then appropriately named Garden Street, the space between these and the houses in Market Street being covered with gardens. The two small cross streets from Church Street to Garden Street (now Birchin Lane, and another not named) were then called Back Alley and Dyer's Alley, and between them and Garden Street stood the "Methodist Meeting." Thorniley Brow, Shudehill, was then Queen Street; and in it stood the "Anabaptists' Meeting." Back Street and Well Street, small parallel streets from Thorniley Brow to Garden Street, are marked on the plan Union Street and Merchant Street. The pinfold was then placed at the corner of a lane, afterwards Sugar Lane; the almshouses (still standing) are drawn in elevation, on the south side of Mill Lane (now Miller's Street); but there is no factory on the other side, -- where the oldest one in Manchester subsequently stood. Long Millgate, from Ashley Lane to Scotland Bridge, was called Smithy Lane, and opposite Ashley Lane was Mill Street, leading to Mill Hill and "Gibraltar," a locality so called close to the Irk; a similar place on the Cheetham side being named "Scotland." The House of Correction stood close to the bridge over the Irk, in Hunt's Bank. In Salford the "Spaw House" is shown, so named from its cold well, which yet exists, — the site of the old spaw house being lately covered by the Lying-in Hospital, opposite the New Bailey, Stanley Street. In the ground between the Bolton Canal and Railway nearly opposite the Old Quay, but at some distance from the river, stood an edifice, having the odd title of "Wring Spigot Hall." There is but one bridge over the Irwell shown in this plan, the Old Bridge; and two over

the Irk, Scotland Bridge and that in Hunt's Bank. We must, however, conclude our imperfect notices of this very curious and somewhat scarce plan of the towns; one copy of which was in the possession of Mr. William Wilkinson, Birmingham and Sheffield warehouse, Oldham Street; another is in the secretary's office, Royal Manchester Infirmary; and a third (the only other we know of) was in the possession of a gentleman in the neighbourhood.

A.D. 1787–1794.

We place here, in justice to the surveyor, a plan which did not appear till the year following that of Laurent, though it had occupied seven years in preparation. It has been stated that Laurent, having obtained some help from this survey, hurriedly published a plan which was in part derived from the survey of Green, so as to anticipate him in the sale, which he did effectually. After a careful examination of both plans, we must give the palm for accuracy to that of Green, which bears every mark of having been the result of a complete survey of the town. It is entitled, "A Plan of Manchester and Salford, drawn from an actual survey by Mr. Green. Begun in the year 1787 and completed in 1794. Engraved by J. Thornton." It is on "a scale of yards, 60 to an inch," or about 29 inches to the mile. Around the title is an elaborate engraving, representing a cotton mill of that period, with symbolical figures in the foreground, apparently the presentation by Cupids of Science and Art of the Plan of Manchester and Salford to a female figure (? Britannia or Mancunia), who is supported by two others representing War and Peace, or Industry; the latter holding a Cornucopia to the central genius, who scatters coin from it in reward of the surveyor and engraver. It is engraved (as most modern maps and plans) with the north at the top, and is therefore far pleasanter to inspect than that of Laurent, which has the south-east at the top of the sheet, and the north consequently down towards one corner of the foot. There are so many points of resemblance between these two large plans of the same period that one descrip-

tion will in all essentials suffice for both. That description is taken from Laurent's map, at a time when we had not seen Green's. Each forms a large sheet map; but that of Green is more than double the size of that of Laurent; the former measuring within the border about eleven feet nine inches by nine feet four inches, and the latter only six feet by three feet two inches. In scale, Laurent's is about seventeen inches to the mile; Green's about twenty-nine inches to the mile. Green's is by far the best of the two, for showing the names of the owners of fields and vacant plots of land; and in all the minutiæ of topographical detail. To it we must transfer all the commendation we gave to the plan of Laurent before we had seen that of Green.

A.D. 1793.

The next plan, bearing this date, faces p. 147 in Aikin's *Description of the Country round Manchester*. It exhibits, in a very striking manner, the rapid increase of the towns of Manchester and Salford. It is one of the most interesting plans of the whole series under notice, and would require a volume for its full description. It is that of Mr. C. Laurent, and is in two sheets; and by different symbols the various stone crosses, pumps, corn mills, engine-wheels, &c., are laid down. The eleven streets of the town in 1653 have increased to several hundreds in number; the number of churches and chapels of the establishment in Manchester and Salford, built and building, amounted in 1795 to twelve; and there were then about as many places of worship for different sects of dissenters. The new streets built within a few years prior to 1795, Aikin says, had nearly doubled the size of the town. Chetham's Hospital, School and Library, Manchester New College or Academy, the Infirmary, Dispensary, and Lunatic Hospital, the Baths, Lying-in Hospital, Humane Society, the Strangers' Friend Society, Agricultural Society, Literary and Philosophical Society, the New Bailey, Theatre, Concert Room, and Assembly Rooms, two Markets (the Market Place and New

Market) in the centre of the town, and three bridges over the Irwell — two of stone and one of wood — all existed at this date, most of the institutions having been founded a few years previously. In the plan now under notice, it is stated that the town spreads itself over an extent of nearly three square miles. This plan delineates the course of Shooter's Brook, from Holt Town to where it falls into the Medlock at Garratt. The Cornbrook is also laid down from Ardwick, crossing the Stockport Road, near the Shakspeare Inn, in its course through the present Greenheys, beyond which point the plan does not extend in the direction of the brook. In glancing over the sheet comprising the plan of the south and east parts of the town, we note the following amongst many other matters worthy of notice: — Ancoats Hall is described as the residence (1793) of Sir John Mosley, Bart. Pin Mill Bridge was then called Ancoats Bridge; but Mr. Meredith's pin and paper manufactory is marked on the plan, close by the bridge, between the Medlock and Ancoats Hall. The pond at Ardwick Green was then called "the canal," and a bridge (which, indeed, existed many years later) is marked as spanning it exactly opposite St. Thomas's church. The most remarkable change of the name in streets occurs in the main thoroughfare of the town, which, commencing from the Market Place, was then called Market Street Lane up to Stable Street; thence Lever's Row as far as Portland Street; thence Piccadilly as far as Ducie Street; there it took the name of Shooter's Brow, as far as Pump Street (the Shooter's Brook crossing it between Brook Street and Pump Street); thence to the bridge over the Medlock, it was then named (and is still called by many) Bank Top; and from the Bridge to Rusholme Lane, it was called Ardwick Street. The "lane" has become a street; Lever's Row is absorbed in Piccadilly; Shooter's Brow and Bank Top are now London Road, and Ardwick Street is named Downing Street. At that period the gardens behind and belonging to Chorlton Hall (Rutland Street) extended beyond Greek Street, near to Brook Street. Between Chatham Street and Hope Street, Piccadilly, stood "the New Circus." In the northern and western parts of

the town, in the second sheet of the plan, we notice Strangeways existing as a park, with the old Bowling Green; the present Great Ducie Street being then a lane with hedgerows, called Strangeways Walk. The Old House of Correction is shown in Hunt's Bank, adjoining the College Inn. The only road to Bury at that time was by Long Millgate, over Scotland Bridge, and up Red Bank; but the present Cheetham Hill Road (or a modification of it) is marked on the plan as the "intended road." The Vauxhall Gardens did not then exist; but a place near their site was Hell Bank. On one side of Miller's Street is the oldest factory in Manchester, called on the plan "Simpson's factory;" opposite are the alms-houses. On the north-east side of Swan Street (then New Cross Street) are shown the "Old Shudehill pits;" now, we believe, arched over and built upon. At the top of Shudehill, where the police lock-up was, is marked the Pinfold; and at the junction of Oldham Street, Oldham Road, Swan Street, and Great Ancoats Street, is a large cross (New Cross) with lamps fixed to the obelisk, and a space for the sale of produce enclosed by posts. The present Queen's Theatre was the Theatre Royal; and on the opposite side of York Street, at the corner of Fountain Street, was the Old Concert Room. The Meal House was then near the corner of Fountain Street, Market Street. The Friends' Meeting House was then at the corner of Jackson's Row, in Deansgate. The greater part of the area between the present Exchange and Smithy Door was then occupied by a large obelisk within a space surrounded with posts or rails, which marked the site where the old Exchange (then pulled down) had formerly stood. On the site of the shop of Mr. James Wilson, hatter, stood the "New Post Office," which was also the publishing shop of Harrop's *Manchester Mercury;* the Old Post Office is also delineated on the plan, at the corner of Toll Lane and Back St. Ann's Square, opposite the end of Police Street. The Excise Office was then in College Land, opposite Back South Parade, and the Phœnix Fire Office in Star Yard. Opposite the Bull's Head Yard, near the entrance to the present Fish Market, was another cross, and a

pillory and pump, and on the site of the Fish Market stood the Old Shambles. In Exchange Street there was then no Exchange, that being placed in the Old Exchange passage, King Street; but the Royal Exchange Fire Office appears to have given its name to this street. The New Market is marked as laid out in stalls; and behind it is the New Fish Market Hall. In Crow Alley is a place called Mad Dog Yard. In Deansgate, between Cumberland Street and Cupid's Alley, there is a spacious residence, with gardens before and behind the house, marked as Mr. Barrow's. Between the Parsonage and Water Street was "The Rock House;" and beyond the "Old Quay Yard," Water Street, is "the Sugar House." In Peter Street, opposite the end of Cooper Street, is "Mr. Cooper's Cottage." Nicholas Croft was then Nicholl's Croft. There was a garden in front of "The Palace," Market Street Lane. Crossing the river into Salford, we observe that, in 1793, the only communications between the towns were the Old Bridge (now Victoria Bridge), Blackfriars Bridge (not the present structure, but a narrow wooden bridge for foot passengers only), and the new bridge now called New Bailey Bridge. The New Bailey prison was then much smaller, of square form, consisting of that part of the prison nearest New Bailey Street, and bounded at the opposite side by Falkner Street, the site of which is now included within the walls, and parallel to Irwell Street, their present boundary. The Lying-in Hospital was then in Old Bridge Street, Salford, opposite the New Cloth Hall; the Cloth Hall at that time was in Greengate, nearly opposite the end of Chapel Street; and in the wide part of Greengate stood "Salford Cross," and a little north of it, nearer the end of Gravel Lane, the Court House. Spring Field was then a field; and Paradise, fronting Green Lane and surrounded with gardens, seems more fitly named than the stranger seeing it now for the first time would be willing to acknowledge. The short street from Chapel Street to Gravel Lane, on the north side of Trinity Chapel, was called Chapel Green. Ordsall Hill was then the residence of Mr. Seddon; "the Bank" (near St. Philip's Church) was then the residence of Mr. Holland Ackers; and below, on the river, was the

"Bank Mill," which still retains the name. From the Sandy Wells, Greengate, to the present Crescent, were fields and gardens; and the ground, being hilly, seems to have had the general name of Shaw Brows. At Wheat Hill, Mr. Sandford resided; at Spring Field, Mr. Leech; in the fields at the top of Bury Street was the residence of Mr. Bury; opposite St. Stephen's Church, in the street called after it, was a (subscription) bowling green; King Street was skirted on both sides by gardens and orchards. Between Ordsall Lane and the river, nearly opposite the New Quay Company's present wharf, stood the residence and dyeworks of Mr. Ashworth, Old Field. Where Broughton Bridge now crosses the Irwell, was "Salford Ford." In the low ground of the peninsula formed by the winding of the river, was the house still called "The Hough." While this plan, then, shows the rapid progress made in the extension of the town up to that period, it furnishes, by comparison with Pigot's plan of Manchester and Salford in 1840, an excellent means of contrasting that progression with that which it has since exhibited, in the forty-seven years which have elapsed since the publication of Laurent's plan.

A.D. 1824.

A plan of this date is entitled "Manchester and its Environs," engraved from an actual survey, made in 1824, by William Swire, Leeds, for the *History, Directory, and Gazetteer of Lancashire,* by Edward Baines. In one corner of this plan is another copy of Palmer's drawing of the plan of Manchester, as it was about 1650. The plan of 1824 first denotes the fourteen police districts into which the township of Manchester was divided under its police acts. Many places now covered with streets were at that time gardens, fields, or waste ground; and there were many vacant places of considerable area, in various parts of the township. Districts Nos. 1, 2, 4, 10, and 14 were not half covered with buildings; Nos. 7 and 11 had plenty of space to spare; and the only densely-built districts were Nos. 3, 6, 9, and 12. Like all the

other plans of Manchester under notice, but a small portion of the new locality of Greenheys is represented; and we know no greater desideratum in a plan of the town than its including the outlying districts of Greenheys, Upper and Lower Broughton, Cheetham Hill (with Crumpsall), Longsight, Victoria Park, Platt, and Rusholme, the Stretford New Road, and other parts of Hulme, and the adjacent buildings in Stretford chapelry, with the increasing neighbourhoods of Regent Road, Salford; Windsor, and Pendleton. This plan exhibits sixteen churches, without counting chapels belonging to the Establishment.

A.D. 1831.

We now come to one of the most complete, extensive, and valuable plans of these towns ever published. It is entitled "Bancks and Co.'s Plan of Manchester and Salford, with their environs, showing the division of property and the length of each street, from an actual survey by Richard Thornton, commenced under the auspices of his late majesty George IV., and now dedicated by permission to his most gracious majesty William IV. The survey completed in the year 1831. Published January 2nd, 1832." It is a four-sheet plan; and for its general accuracy, the distinctness with which every boundary is described, every building delineated, and the name of every street engraved, in the more important ones with their length in yards, it is unrivalled. This plan takes in all the space from Tuer Street, Oxford Road, where the plan last noticed stops, to Ducie Street and Nelson Street, on the same road; it also includes, amongst other suburbs not to be found in any preceding plan, Plymouth Grove and Longsight, as then existing, the Hyde and Ashton Roads for some distance; the New Stretford Road from All Saints' Church to the White House, Hulme (but then unbuilt upon); the Chester Road, Hulme, beyond the Northumberland Arms; Windsor, Pendleton, and Charlestown; Cheetwood, Collyhurst, and portions of the townships of Newton, Bradford, Beswick, and Gorton. Its size and cost may prevent

many from referring to this plan; while the rapid increase of constructions and erections, whether houses, mills and factories, canals or railways, has already left it in the back ground. Still, with a careful survey, and the requisite additions and alterations, it might yet be made the most valuable plan of Manchester and Salford.

A.D. 1832.

This plan of "Manchester and Salford, with their vicinities, taken from actual survey in 1832," which faces p. 44 of "Everett's Panorama of Manchester," is chiefly interesting in this series, as marking the rapid filling-up of waste or unoccupied spaces in the town, and its continued extension in every direction; the increase in its water communication, by means of various canals; and the first step in that chain of railway communication which has done so much to facilitate the operations of internal commerce and intercourse, and virtually to lessen the distances of all parts of the kingdom. We need not dwell on these subjects, nor on the increase of places of worship, public edifices and institutions, — all marking the rapid strides which this town has taken, during the present century, towards a truly metropolitan character and extent.

A.D. 1833.

There is a very beautifully engraved and coloured plan of this date in Mr. Baines's *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster,* facing p. 149 of vol ii. It is called "A plan of Manchester, Salford, and their environs." It is on such a scale, and of such size, as to include most of the environs and suburbs of both towns; and in the copy in Chetham's library, the fourteen police districts of Manchester, and the eight police districts of Salford, as well as the several surrounding townships of Broughton, Cheetham, Newton, Beswick, Ardwick, Chorlton-on-Medlock,

Hulme, and Pendleton, are distinguished by being coloured of different tints. At the foot of the plan is a reference to sixty public buildings in Manchester, &c., and twelve in Salford.

A.D. 1840.

With Pigot's directory there has been published a plan of the towns, corrected up to the time of its publication, generally every three or four years; but we need not further notice these, except the last one (accompanying the directory just published)* which bears the date of April, 1840, and is doubtless the most recently published plan of these towns. The remarks on the plan of 1832 will apply with still greater force and truth to this plan. Two railways (the Liverpool and Manchester and the Manchester and Bolton) extend their nearly parallel lines across the south of Salford; the Leeds and Manchester Railway enters Manchester at the north-east; and the Birmingham and Manchester (with which the Manchester and Sheffield line is to form a junction at the outskirts of the town) enters Manchester at the south-east, approaching within three quarters of a mile of the Exchange. Should all these lines be completed, four great railways, besides many minor ones and branches, will have their *termini* in Manchester, at present at four different stations; but probably, sooner or later, they will find a joint terminus either on the north or the south side of the town. The numerous black patches of building on this plan exhibit the continued increase of public buildings and institutions in both towns. The plan is divided into circles of a quarter of a mile radius, the Exchange being the centre; and it exhibits the mass of buildings extending about two miles and three quarters from east to west, and about two miles from north to south, not including Higher or Lower Broughton, or the greater part of Cheetham Hill on the north; nor considerable portions of Chorlton-on-Medlock (Greenheys) and Hulme on the south. In

* This was written in 1840.

the innermost circle, of half a mile diameter, we find twenty-five of these public edifices; in the next ring of a quarter of a mile diameter, forty-four; in the third, twenty-five; in the fourth, twenty-three; in the fifth (part of which is wanting, both north and south), fourteen; and beyond that, in the small space east and west included in the plan, six; giving a total of public places, distinguished as such in the plan (and there are many that cannot be so marked), of one hundred and thirty-seven.

We cannot omit a brief notice of the fine series of twenty-four large Sheet Maps of Manchester, not of the town or city, but the *township* of Manchester only, published by the late Councillor Joseph Adshead, in the year 1851. In these maps the township of Manchester is divided into its twelve wards, and the maps are stated to be corrected to the 1st of May, 1851. Map No. 24 is an index map, with a table, indicating the situation of public buildings, churches, chapels, schools, highways, streets, &c., throughout the township. On each of these maps is engraved a scale of yards and feet, "equal to eighty inches per mile," all being engraved from an original survey by Richard Thornton, carefully corrected to the time of printing each map. The maps were engraved by Bradshaw and Blacklock, lithographers, &c., of Manchester and London, and are beautiful specimens of the engraver's art. Peculiar markings and shadings indicate very clearly the public buildings, the warehouses and other places of business, the mills or factories and other works, the hotels, inns, and public houses, the private houses, the frontages, the boundary lines of the several wards, the paved streets with their footpaths, and the width of each street, its length as ascertainable by the scale and compasses; a bordered scale enables one to find any place from the reference table; and, in short, nothing is neglected to make these splendid maps available for public purposes, for professional use, and for private reference.

THE OLDEST MANCHESTER DIRECTORIES.

A.D. 1772.

THE first Manchester Directory, so far as we are aware, was the literary adventure of a woman renowned in the annals of cookery, — no less a personage than the celebrated Mrs. Elizabeth Raffald, author of *The Experienced English Housekeeper*, a book on cookery which, in its day, went through a very large number of editions, legitimate and pirated, and long held its place as one of the best works on the subject in the English language. Elsewhere in this volume, we have given a brief memoir of Mrs. Raffald's life and works; and here, therefore, we limit our notices to her Directories of Manchester. The first *Manchester Directory* was a thin octavo pamphlet, published in the spring of the year 1772; and it is sufficiently rare and curious to induce us to reprint its title-page:

The *Manchester Directory*, for the year 1772. Containing an alphabetical list of the Merchants, Tradesmen, and principal inhabitants in the town of Manchester, with the situation of their respective warehouses and places of abode. Also separate lists of the city Tradesmen, with their warehouses in Manchester. The Officers of the Infirmary and Lunatic Hospital. The Officers of the Excise. The principal Whitsters [*i. e.*, bleachers]. Stage-Coaches, Waggons, and Carriers, with their days of coming in and going out. The Vessels to and from Liverpool, upon the Old Navigation, and Duke of Bridgewater's Canal; and their agents. Manchester Bank and Insurance Office. His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and near Manchester. And the Committee for the detection and prosecution of Felons and Receivers of Stolen or embezzled goods. London: printed for the Author; and sold by R. Baldwin, No. 47, Paternoster Row; and by the Author at Manchester.

This, the only title, was printed on the cover, which is on thin light-blue paper. At the back of the title is the following address:

To the Public. — The want of a Directory for the large and commercial town of Manchester, having been frequently complained of, and several useful Regulations being recently made; — I have taken upon me the arduous task of compiling a *Complete Guide*, for the easy finding out every inhabitant of the least consequence; as also most of the city tradesmen, and the places where their warehouses are situated; likewise an account of the Stage-Coaches and Carriers, with the times of their coming in and going out of town, &c. But as the difficulty of a private person's knowing every one of his connections, without the assistance of the people themselves, must be apparent to every one, it cannot be expected but that some errors and omissions will appear. Any person's name, therefore, that may be omitted, shall, on proper notice, be inserted in the next edition, by the public's most obedient, humble servant,

March 20th, 1772. ELIZABETH RAFFALD.

N.B. As it is in agitation to number the houses in each street, for the more readily finding the inhabitants; if this or any other regulation should take place, it shall be carefully added to the next edition.

The directory proper occupies forty-six pages (indicating the comparatively small population of Manchester 93 years ago); and the other matters enumerated in the title, carry the book to sixty pages, in good bold type. As the names seem to average twenty-five in a page, this would give a total of about 1,150 persons in the *Manchester Directory* of 1772. We select some of the notable names amongst the inhabitants of Manchester in that year:

Achers [Ackers] George and Son, silk and linen manufactures, St. Mary's Church Yard.
Ainscough Rev. Thomas, Fellow of Christ Church, Fennel Street.
Ainsworth Rev. Mr., top Longsight.
Ainsworth Jeremiah, teacher of mathematics, Long Milngate.
Allen William, Esq., Davy Hulme.
—— Captain, Long Milngate.
Alsop Richard, innkeeper, Bull's Head, Market Place.
Armstrong Joseph, wine and brandy merchant, Princes Street.
Asheton Lady, Marriott's Croft.

Asheton Mrs., widow, Hunt's Bank.
Ashton Rev. Richard, Fellow of Christ Church [no abode named].
Aytoun Roger, Esq., Chor[l]ton Hall.
Baldwin Samuel, Esq., St. James's Square.
Barker Rev. Thomas, Dean's Gate.
Barlow Thomas, Esq., Barlow Hall.
—— Robert, gentleman, Salford Cross.
Barret Thomas, saddler, Hyde's Cross [the antiquary].
Bayley Rev. James, chaplain of Christ's Church, Withington.
Beswick Edward, gentleman, Kirkman's Holme.
Birch Thomas, Esq., Hardwick Green.
—— Rev. Peplow, warden of Christ Church, Deansgate.
—— John Peplow, Esq., Deansgate.
—— John, gentleman, Great Turner Street.
—— Thomas, gentleman, High Street.
Boardman Thomas, clerk of Christ Church and dyer, Gravel Lane, Salford.
Bowers Benjamin, merchant, hatter, and check and fustian manufacturer, High Street.
Bowers Miles and John, hatters, Alport Lane.
Bradshaw John, Esq., Shudehill.
Brierly —, Esq., gentleman, Heaton Norris.
Brocklehurst William, cotton merchant, Marriott's Croft.
Broom —, Esq., Didsbury.
Budworth Joseph, gentleman, Upper Byrom Street.
Byrom Edward, Esq., Quay Street.
Chadwick Miss, Front Salford.
Chipindale Joseph and Mills [? Milne] attorneys, St. James's Square.
Clare Peter, clock and patent smoke-jack maker, Deansgate.
Clark Abraham, bookseller, binder, and stationer, Market Place.
Clayton Rev. John, Fellow of Christ Church, Back Salford.
Clegg James, gentleman, Radcliff Street.
Clough John, gentleman, Chapel Walks.
Clowes Rev. Mr., rector of St. John's Church, Ardwick Green.
—— Richard, Esq., Hunt's Bank.
—— Samuel, Esq., Ridgefield.
—— Joseph, Esq., Ardwick Green.
Collier Samuel, gentleman, High Street.

Cook James, gentleman, Front Salford.
—— John, attorney, Front Salford.
—— Otho, Esq., Half Street, Old Church.
—— Rev. Mr., Heaton Norris.
Crewdson Isaac, grocer, bottom Deansgate.
Crompton —, gentleman, Long Milngate.
—— Mrs., widow, Crompton's Coffee House, Exchange.
Darby Rev. Mr., Long Milngate.
Deacon E. E., surgeon and man-midwife, bottom Market Street Lane.
Dickin John, gentleman, back Old Church.
Dickinson John, Esq., Market Street Lane and Birch Hall.
—— John, Esq., Birch Hall.
Diggles Thomas, Esq., Deansgate and Blakeley.
Drinkwater —, surgeon and man-midwife, Front Salford.
Drury James and Co., proprietors of the Old Quay, Water Street.
Eccleston Rev. Charles, Deansgate.
—— William, gentleman, Hunt's Bank.
Egerton Sir Thomas, bart., knight of the shire.
Eyer Nathaniel, gentleman, top Market Street Lane.
Falkner Matthew, timber merchant, Alport Lane.
Farrar Richard, Esq., Hanging Ditch.
Fisher —, dancing master, Old Field Lane [Salford].
Fletcher Thomas, gentleman, Wood Street.
Fox —, gentleman, Water Street, Salford.
Foxley Rev. John, at Mr. Priestwall's, Alport Lane.
Gatliff James, gentleman, Fennel Street.
Gearson James, gentleman, Mount Pleasant, Strangeways.
Gratrix James, Esq., [no abode].
Greaves Edward, Esq., Kelshaw [Culcheth] Hall.
Griffiths Rev. Maurice, Fellow of Christ Church, Hunt's Bank.
Hague Joseph, gentleman, Chapel Walks.
Hall Rev. Samuel, King Street.
Hall Richard, sen., surgeon, Deansgate.
—— Edward, surgeon, Deansgate.
Harrison J., gentleman, Salford.
Heapey Isaac, attorney, top of Sugar Lane.
Henry Thomas, apothecary, St. Ann's Square.

Hibbert Robert and Samuel, check manufacturers, King Street.
Hill —, gentleman, Methodist Street.
Hindley Charles, silk mercer, St. Mary's Church Yard.
Hollenpriest John, gentleman, Heaton Norris.
Hough Thomas, gentleman, Marsden Square.
Howarth John, Esq., Long Milngate.
Hudson Edward, gentleman, Cannon Street.
Hulme Edmund, gentleman, Cupid's Alley.
Hulme Otho, warehouseman, Cupid's Alley.
Humphreys John, attorney, Cannon Street.
Hyde Robert and Nathaniel, check and fustian manufacturers, King Street.
Johnson George, Esq., King Street and Timperley.
Jones James and Son, bankers and tea dealers, Market Street Lane.
Kay Daniel, attorney, Back Square.
Kay —, [? John] physician, Back square.
Kay John, deputy-constable, Long Milngate.
Kelsal Edmund, bow and arrow maker, Long Milngate.
Kenyon Edward, attorney and deputy clerk of the peace, Cannon Street.
Kenyon Rev. Robert, librarian, Half Street, by Old Church.
Lawson Rev. Mr., top of Long Milngate.
Lees John, Esq., Rusholme.
Legard Joseph, miniature painter and music master, Hanging Bridge.
Leigh John, druggist, Cateaton Street.
Lingard Joshua, warehouseman, Sounding Alley.
Livesey Richard, gentleman, Fennel Street.
Low Peter, gentleman, Broom Street.
Macaulay Aulay, tea man [and publisher of short hand], St. Ann's Square.
Manwaring Peter, Esq., King Street.
Marriott Joshua, yarn merchant and thread maker, Marriott's Cross [? Croft] and Ardwick Green.
Massey James and Tod, orcheal makers, Front Salford.
Meanly Rev. Mr., Rusholme.
Mills Nathaniel [? Milne], attorney, by Exchange.
Millward Rev. Richard, Newton Heath,
Mosley John Parker, Esq., Long Milngate.
Mosley Frank, Esq., Deansgate.
Nab Rev. William, behind Cross, Salford.

Nab William, attorney, Deansgate.
Nichols Jonah, gentleman, Ridgefield.
Ogden Theophilus, gentleman, top of Market Street Lane.
Oldham Joshua, surgeon and man-midwife, Old Milngate.
Olivant John, hardware and toy man, Shambles.
Oliver Richard, attorney, Front Salford.
Orme Aaron, jun., gentleman, Broom Street.
—— Thomas, gentleman, Marsden Square and Withington.
Owen Rev. Humphrey, chaplain of Christ Church, top Deansgate.
Parker Thomas, gentleman, bottom Deansgute.
—— —, organ builder, top Salford.
Percival —, physician, King Street.
Phillips Nathaniel, Quay Street.
—— Nathaniel and Falkner, smallware manufacturers, St. Mary's Church Yard.
—— Nathaniel, hatter, St. James's Square.
—— John and John, silk and linen manufacturers, Back Square.
Potter Richard, fustian manufacturer, Chapel Walks.
Prescot John, printer and bookseller, Old Milngate.
Price Thomas, Esq., Rusholme.
Priestwall Thomas, gentleman, Alport Street.
Radcliff Charles, smallware manufacturer, Marsden Square.
Raffald James, gardener, behind Cross, Salford.
—— John [editor's husband], seedsman and confectioner, Market Place.
Rhodes John, gentleman, Half Street, Old Church Yard.
Ridge Miss, boarding school, Back Square.
Ridgeway John, attorney, Marsden Square.
Robinson Rev. Mr., Failsworth.
Sedgwick Roger, Esq., Deansgate.
Shaw John, Shaw's Punch House, Shambles.
Shaw Miss[es] Sally and Nanny, Alport Lane.
Starkey William, surgeon and man-midwife, King Street.
Stopford Rev. Mr., Quay Street.
Sutton David, gentleman, top of Alport Lane.
Syddal John, gentleman, Slate [Slade] Hall.
—— Thomas, grocer and drysalter, Smithy Door.
Tatton Thomas, Esq., Heaton Norris.

Tatton William, Esq., Heaton Norris.
Taylor John, gentleman, Crumpsall.
Thompson Matthew, bookseller and binder, St. Mary's Gate.
Thyer John, apothecary, Deansgate.
Tipping George, gentleman, Blue Boar Court.
—— Thomas and Sons, yarn merchants, Hanging Ditch.
—— Joseph, Shudehill.
Touchet Miss, Ridgefield.
—— James, check manufacturer, King Street and Broom House.
—— Thomas, gentleman, King Street.
Towler Miss, boarding school, top of Market Street Lane.
Tunnadine Richard, attorney, Back Square.
Twyford Rev. Mr., Didsbury.
Upton Richard, Esq., Ardwick Green.
Wagstaff William, apothecary, Blackley.
Walker Thomas, sen., gentleman, St. Mary's Church Yard.
—— Thomas, jun., St. Mary's Church Yard.
—— —, Esq., Ardwick Green.
Walker and Radcliff, apothecaries, Market Place.
Watson John, gentleman, Cupid's Alley.
—— Alexander, gentleman, Chorlton Row.
Wheeler Charles, Sugar Lane.
Whittaker George, gentleman, Higher Ardwick.
White Charles, surgeon and man-midwife, Market Street Lane.
—— William, surgeon and man-midwife, King Street.
Whitlow Thomas, tallow chandler and governor of the House of Correction, Hanging Ditch.
Willet John, [post]master, Post Office and St. Ann's Square.
—— John, deputy-postmaster, St. Ann's Square.
Wilson John, gentleman, King Street.
Withington John, gentleman, Quay Causeway, Salford.
Wood Nathan ["Patten Nat"], patten maker, Market Street Lane.
—— Otawell [Ottiwell], fustian manufacturer, High Street.
—— William and Peter, smallware manufacturers, Deansgate.
Worrall Philip, barber and peruke maker, Market Place.
Wyat John, gentleman, Hulme.

Amongst the trades enumerated are woollen, worsted, silk,

fustian, and check manufacturers, fustian calenderer, fringe maker, Kendal stuff maker, shag maker, swivel-loom maker, Dutch loom weaver; one tradeswoman is described as a "black-work burial-shute [? suit] maker; every hair-dresser seems to be "barber and peruke-maker," so general was then the wear of wigs; a dealer in china and earthenware was styled a "pot seller;" "chairman" implies the use of sedan chairs; dress-makers were styled "mantua-makers," and besides the lady's milliner was the "horse milliner;" every surgeon was a "man midwife," and there were many female practitioners styled "midwife." One man is styled a "haggar," which may mean a jobber. Of localities, we note in passing Ackers Gates, Bootle Street, Daub Holes, Frog Lane, Tarr's Croft, Radcliffe Street, Nichol's [now Nicholas] Croft, Stable Street, Shambles, Calender Street, Longworth's Folly, &c. Of country manufacturers having warehouses in Manchester, there is a list of 119. The chief towns where their mills, &c., were seated, seem to have been Bolton, Oldham, and Leigh; a few from Bury and Wigan, but scarcely one from Rochdale, Ashton, Dukinfield, or Stalybridge, and very few from Stockport. Many of the places would scarcely be deemed "country" now, as regards Manchester,—as Ardwick, Audenshaw, Blakeley, Burnage, Fallowfield, Collyhurst, Cheetham, Crumpsall, Pendleton, Prestwich, Smedley, &c. They were almost all fustian manufacturers or check manufacturers. We find James Crompton, paper manufacturer, Collyhurst, and Thomas Crompton, paper manufacturer, Smedley, both "putting-up" at the King's Head, Deansgate. A few woollen manufacturers and a few yarn merchants complete the various trades of the country manufacturers.

The following were the "Officers of the Infirmary and Lunatic Hospital, top of Market Street Lane":

Otho Cooke, Esq., *treasurer;* Edward Byrom, Esq., Mr. William Hardman, Mr. Edward Place, and Mr. Edward Hudson, *deputy-treasurers;* Messrs. James Hodson and William Crane, *auditors;* Drs. Mainwaring, Kay, and Brown, *physicians;* Messrs. James Burchell, M.D., Charles White, and Edward Hall, *surgeons;* Mr. Robert Darby, *apothecary;*

Messrs. Wagstaff and Henry, *visiting apothecaries;* Mr. Lawrence Plant, *secretary;* Mrs. Catherine Fletcher, *matron.* Mr. Josiah Birch, treasurer to the Lunatic Hospital. There were eleven "agents and receivers" at London, Lancaster, Warrington, Rochdale, Buxton, Macclesfield, Knutsford, Halifax, Bolton, and Blackburn.

Officers of Excise.— Thomas Johnson, Esq., *collector*, King Street; John Kelsall, *supervisor*, Water Street, Salford; and seven subordinate officers.

Crofters or Whitsters [Bleachers.] — Of these having their "crofts" in the outskirts or the neighbouring townships, there are eighty named. Amongst them Peter Ainsworth, Halliwell, and various Briarlys, Dennerlys, Fletchers, Gregorys, Highams, Hiltons, Hopes, Howarths, Hulmes, Radfords, Riders, Rothwells, Shawcrosses, Slaters, Travises, Whiteheads, and Wolstencrofts.

We have next the "Stage-Coaches, Waggons, and owners' names; where they run; days of coming in and going out; with the names of the book-keepers," many of them being their own book-keepers. We give this list in an abridged form:

London Flying Machine, Samuel Tennant and Co., in two days from Royal Oak, top of Market Street Lane; in summer on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings, at one; comes in on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings. In winter in three days going out, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, 4 a.m.; coming in Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings.

Liverpool Stage Coach, John Swain, from Spread Eagle, Salford, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings; returns Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings.

London Waggon, Matthew Pickford, Swan, Market Street Lane, Wednesday and Saturday.

—— Bass and Co., Fountain, Market Street Lane, Friday.

—— Cooper and Co., Star, Deansgate, Wednesday and Saturday.

—— Hulse and Co., opposite Windmill, Deansgate, Wed. and Sat.

—— Washington and Co., Pack Horse, Market Street Lane, Tuesday.

—— Wood and Co., Coach and Horses, Deansgate, Wed. and Sat.

Birmingham, John Twist, White Lion, Deansgate, Friday.

Blackburn, — Cross, Three Arrows, Deansgate, Wednesday and Saturday.

Bolton, James Taylor, White Lion, Deansgate, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
—— Thomas Barrett, King's Head, Deansgate, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
Bristol, Jonathan Worthington, Windmill, Deansgate, Wednesday.
Burnley, James Kenyon, White Lion, Hanging Ditch, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
—— Robert Whitaker, Boar's Head, Hyde's Cross, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Bury, Ott. Holt, White Horse, Hanging Ditch, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
Cambridge, Thomas Gostola and Co., Back King Street, Thursday
Chester, William Hyson, Coach and Horses, Deansgate, Thursday.
—— Thomas Kemp, Woolpack, bottom Deansgate, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Chorley, Widow Grundy, King's Head, Salford, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
Chowbent, John Brown, Ship, Salford, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Colne, William Whaley, White Horse, Hanging Ditch, Friday.
Derby, Thomas Shawcross, Pack Horse, Market Street Lane, Thursday.
Doncaster, William Sheepley, White Lion, Deansgate, Saturday.
Halifax, Thomas Parson, Pack Horse, Long Millgate, Monday and Thursday.
—— John Turner, Flying Horse, College Barn, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
Huddersfield, John Scholefield, Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch, Monday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Lancaster, William Winders, Pack Horse, Market Street Lane, Monday and Friday.
Leeds, Samuel Haigh, Flying Horse, College Barn, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
Liverpool, Thomas Kemp, Woolsack, bottom Deansgate, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Macclesfield, Peter Wild, Market Street Lane, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bateson and Chrichlow, White Lion, Deansgate, Thursday.
Northwich, John Whitehead, Seven Stars, Withy Grove, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
—— Thomas Hancock, Rose and Crown, Deansgate, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Nottingham, Robert Marsden, Fountain, Market Street Lane, Thursday.
—— Spencer and Cox, Swan, Market Street Lane, Saturday.
Pontefract, Benjamin Harrop, Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch, Saturday.
Preston (same as Lancaster).

Rochdale, John Heywood, top of Shudehill, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
—— Benjamin Taylor, Seven Stars, Withy Grove, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Salop, John Holbrook, White Lion, Deansgate, Saturday.
Sheffield, Richard Gardiner, Pack Horse, back o'th' Church, Thursday.
—— John Taylor, Swan, Market Street Lane, Friday.
Stockport, John Gaskell, Bellman, Market Street Lane, every day.
—— John Hibbert, Cock, Market Street Lane, every day.
Wakefield, John Hardman, Wheat Sheaf, Hanging Ditch, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Wigan, Henry Grundy, Red Lion, Salford, Tues., Thurs., and Sat.
—— John Brown, Ship, Salford, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.
York, George Worthington, Sun, Shudehill, Saturday.

This list indicates all the places to which goods were sent from Manchester by land carriage in 1772, and the number of weekly transits, which to the nearer places were thrice, to some twice, to many only once a week; while the only place that enjoyed a daily transit and delivery was Stockport.

The next list is of "Vessels to and from Liverpool on the Old [Mersey and Irwell] Navigation." Of these there were twenty-one, of which many were named from persons, as the Byrom, the Patten, &c. "The Duke of Bridgewater's vessels from Liverpool to Warrington" were eleven in number, named after places, except the Ellesmere. "The Duke's vessels to and from Warrington" are nine in number, (one called "The Old Cat"), besides "a number of open vessels, which go by the name of tuns."

A 40-tun boat from Altrincham on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday mornings; sets off back from Knott Mill exactly at one o'clock each day. And coal boats from Worsley to Knott Mill, from 3 to 15, of 5 tuns each, every day in the week, Sunday excepted.

Manchester then had only one bank and one insurance office, both in the hands of the same firm, of which the partners were Edward Byrom, Esq., William Allen, Esq., Roger Sedgwick, Esq., and Edward Place, gent. "His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and near Manchester" were only seven in number, viz., T. B.

Bayley, J. Bradshaw, T. Entwistle, A. Lever, P. Mainwaring, D. Rasbotham, and R. Townley, Esqrs. "The Committee for the detection and prosecution of felons and receivers of stolen or embezzled goods" consisted of the following thirteen gentlemen:

Josiah Birch, High Street; John Booth, King Street; Edward Radcliffe, St. Ann's Square; James Gardner, Deansgate; Charles Chadwick, St. James's Square; Charles Taylor, St. Mary's Church Yard; John Entwistle, jun., Deansgate; Joseph Worsley, dyer, Prince's Street; Thomas Hulme, dyer, Aldport Town; John Arnold, crofter, Newton [Heath]; Thomas Chorlton, crofter, Pendleton; John Travis, crofter, Prestwich; and John Shawcross, crofter, Gorton.

Such was the first *Manchester Directory*, of which what is probably a unique copy has been lent to the Editor by James Crossley, Esq., F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, for the purpose of this article. The last cover has been used by Baldwin for advertisements of his publications, the *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva*, and the *Universal Negociator* (both by Wyndham Beawes, Esq.), and also the second edition (6s. bound) of Mrs. Raffald's *Experienced English Housekeeper*.

A.D. 1773.

The directory of 1772 seems to have proved a decided success, for another was published by Mrs. Raffald the following year. This is a small 12mo pamphlet of 78 pages. It is also in the very curious and scarce collection of Mr. James Crossley. It is dated "Manchester, 1773," and was "printed for, and sold by, the author, and J. Harrop, opposite the Exchange." In the title-page we are told it was "designed for the use of persons of all degrees, as well natives as foreigners." It commences with "an exact account of the streets, lanes, courts, alleys, &c." [in Manchester and Salford.] These are 167 in number, and amongst them we find Front Salford, Back Salford, Change Alley, Cold House, Exchange Alley, Hyde Park, Hunter's Lane, Nichol's [now Nicholas] Croft, Parsonage Lane, Quay Causeway (Salford), Red

Lion Street (St. Ann's), and Red Lion Street (St. Paul's), Salford Bridge [on the site of Victoria Bridge], Salford Cross [Greengate], Seven Houses [North Parade], Shambles, Sot's Hole, Strand (Salford), Tarr's Court, &c. The directory occupies fifty-one pages, containing on an average thirty names in a page, or in the whole 1,530 names, as the aggregate of the merchants, gentry and clergy, bankers, manufacturers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers of Manchester and Salford; being 380 more than in the preceding year. We select a few notable names, as amongst the inhabitants of Manchester in 1773, not already enumerated, or differently described, in 1772. Between the issue of the directory of 1772 and that of the following year, the houses in Manchester had been numbered:

Ackers George and Son, silk and linen manufacturers, Seven Houses.
Assheton Rev. Richard, Fellow of Christ Church, Cheetwood.
Aynscough Rev. Thomas, Fellow of Christ Church, 12, Fennel Street.
Barrow and Walker, smallware and fustian manufacturers, Front Salford.
Barton Richard, George and Henry, fustian manufacturers, Market Street Lane.
Binyon Benjamin Busby, cotton merchant, 5, St. James's Square.
Birch John, Strangeways.
Booth John Gore, Esq., Back Salford.
Byrom Mrs., Cannon Street.
—— Miss Phebe, milliner, 1, Shambles.
—— Misses, Quay Street.
Chippendall and Milne, attorneys, St. James's Square. Public office, Bow Street, and Ridgefield.
Clare Peter, clock and patent smoke-jack cleaner, 119, Deansgate.
Dauntesey Mrs., Birchin Lane.
Davenport Mrs., Seven Houses.
Deacon Edward Erastus, surgeon and man-midwife, St. Mary's Gate.
Duckenfield Lady, 8, King Street.
Entwistle John and Sons, check and fustian manufacturers, Norfolk Street.
Ethelston Rev. Charles, 49, Deansgate.
Griffith Rev. Dr., Fellow of Christ Church, Hunt's Bank.
Hardman John, fustian manufacturer, 39, Deansgate.
Hibbert Titus, yarn merchant and linen draper, Queen Street, St. Ann's.

Holt David, cowkeeper, Cannon Street.
Hulme Dauntesey, fustian manufacturer, Brazennose Street.
Lawson Charles, head master Free Grammar School, 7, Long Millgate.
Leaf William, yarn merchant, Salford Cross.
Lester Mrs., Strangeways Hall.
Markland John, merchant, 35, Deansgate.
Moseley Mrs., St. Paul's.
Naylor Richard and James, fustian manufacturers, Cupid's Alley.
Peploe Rev. Dr. Samuel, warden of Christ Church, chancellor of the diocese of Chester [address not given].
Percival Thomas, M.D., 63, King Street.
Phillips Nathaniel, gentleman, Quay Street.
—— Nathaniel and Co., smallware manufacturers, South Parade.
Philips Nathaniel and John, silk manufacturers, Queen Street, St. Ann's.
—— Thomas and Nathaniel, hatters, Dolefield, and 10, St. James's Square.
Potter Richard, check manufacturer, Cheapside.
Priestley, Rev. Mr., Daubholes [now Piccadilly].
Raffald John [editor's husband], innholder, King's Head, Salford.
Ridings John and George, fustian and check manufacturers, Ridings' Court.
Syddal John, gentleman, Smithy Door.
Thyer John, apothecary, 47, Deansgate.
Tipping George, gentleman, Oldham Street.
—— Thomas and John, check manufacturers, Tipping's Court.
Touchet Mrs., 16, King Street.
—— Miss, Brazenose Street.
—— James, check manufacturer, Pall Mall.
Walker John, fustian and smallware manufacturer, 19, Water Street, Salford.
—— John, check manufacturer, Hunter's Lane.
—— and Leaf, check manufacturers, Paradise Court.
—— Thomas, gentleman, South Parade.
Wheeler Charles, glass and earthenware house, 13, Hanging Ditch.
Weatherhog Charles, *butcher*, Toad Lane.
Whip John, *saddler*, 22, Market Place.
Whitaker Rev. Mr. John, author of the *History of Manchester*, Salford Bridge.
Whitlow Thomas, tallow chandler, and governor of the House of Correction, 29, Hanging Ditch.
Willet Sarah, post-mistress, 12, St. Ann's Square.

Next comes "An alphabetical list of the country tradesmen, with their places of abode, and warehouses in Manchester." Of these, there are 179, including many names still in the trade, as Henry Ashworth, fustian manufacturer, Turton; 101, Deansgate, Manchester. Then follows "An alphabetical list of the whitsters" (bleachers), headed by Peter Ainsworth and Son, Halliwell; and numbering 79 in all. Next we have "An account of the stage-coaches and carriers, with the days of coming in and going out of Manchester." These are nearly the same in number as in the preceding year. There were very few coaches, most of the traffic being conducted by carriers, many of whom were their own book-keepers. Besides the neighbouring towns and villages, there were carriers to Birmingham, Burton-upon-Trent, Buxton, Bristol, Cambridge, Chester, and most of the Cheshire towns; Coventry, Derby, Doncaster, and most of the Yorkshire towns. Then came "Vessels to and from Liverpool, on the old navigation," nineteen in number; three "open vessels betwixt the Old Quay and Warrington;" fifteen of the "Duke of Bridgewater's vessels from Liverpool to Warrington;" eight "vessels [from Manchester] to and from Warrington, as well as "one boat of forty tons open, besides a number of open vessels from five to fifty tons' burthen;" a boat called the Expedition from Knot Mill, for Altrincham, at one o'clock, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; starting from Altrincham on the mornings of those days; three to fifteen coal boats from Worsley to Knot Mill, of five tons, daily (Sunday excepted). "A barge sets out from Stockton Heath, every Saturday morning, at five o'clock, and arrives at Knot Mill at ten forenoon; returns from Knot Mill same day, at four afternoon, and arrives at Stockton Heath, at ten o'clock the same evening." [The times on other days of the week vary according to the season]. Next comes the Manchester Bank and Insurance Office; Bankers, William Allen, Esq., Roger Sedgwick, Esq., (Edward Byrom and Edward Place having died or retired.) Then follow "His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for Manchester, Bolton, and Rochdale divisions," which list we subjoin:

Division of Manchester.

John Bradshaw, Esq., Manchester.
Peter Mainwaring, Esq., M.D., Manchester.
George Clarke, Esq., Hyde Hall.
John Gore Booth, Esq., Salford.
Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., Hope.
Ashton Lever, Esq., Alkrington.
Roger Aytoun, Esq., Chorlton Hall.
John Bower, Esq., Manchester.
Rev. John Watson, clerk, Stockport.

Division of Bolton.

Rev. Edward Whitehead, clerk, Bolton.
Dorning Rasbotham, Esq., Birch House, Farnworth.
James Bradshaw, Esq., Darcy Lever.
Roger Dewhurst, Esq., Halliwell.
Robert Andrews, Esq., Rivington.

Division of Rochdale.

Robert Entwisle, Esq., Fox Holes.
Richard Townley, Esq., Belfield.
John Chadwick, Esq., Healey Hall, major of the Royal Lancashire Militia.

To this succeeds a list of officers of the Infirmary and Lunatic Hospital: — John Dicconson, Esq., *treasurer;* Messrs. William Hardman, Edward Hudson, Joseph Ryder, and John Hargreave, *deputy-treasurers. Physicians,* Drs. Mainwaring, Kay, and Brown. *Surgeons,* Messrs. James Burchall, M.D., Charles White, and Edward Hall. A list of the "officers of the excise office, bottom of Deansgate" follows; and, lastly, the thirteen gentlemen forming the "committee for the detection and prosecution of felons, and receivers of stolen or embezzled goods." Such are the contents of the second *Manchester Directory.*

A.D. 1781.

Mrs. Raffald published a third directory in the year 1781, eight years after the one last noticed; its contents (12mo, pp. 105)

being arranged in the same order, with the additions of the names of firemen, and the places where the engines are kept, &c. Mrs. Raffald then kept the Exchange Coffee House, "where both books [*i. e.* her cookery book and the directory] may be had." The list of streets, &c., had increased from 167 in 1773 to 197 in 1781,—an addition of only 30 in eight years. The *Manchester and Salford Directory* occupies sixty-four pages, which at the same average as before, of thirty names to the page, gives a total of 1,920 residents in the two towns,—an increase of 390 in eight years. In these eight years there were not very extensive changes in the residents of the town. The following are however a few of the new names, or alterations:

Egerton Lady, Quay Street.
Hamer, Captain in the Royal Manchester Volunteers, Piccadilly.
Jones Samuel and Co., bankers and tea dealers, No. 104, Market Street Lane.
Kaye Samuel, M.D., Half Moon Street.
Milne Nathaniel, attorney, Ridgefield.
Phillips Falkner, South Parade.
Peel, Yates, and Co., calico printers and manufacturers, St. Ann's Square.
Percival Thomas, F.R.S. and S.A., member of the medical societies of London and Edinburgh, and of the royal society of physicians at Paris, King Street.
Priestley Rev. Timothy, Piccadilly.
Raffald John [editor's husband], Exchange Coffee House, Market Place.
White Charles, surgeon, F.R.S., King Street.

The "country manufacturers" number 331, being an increase of 152 in the eight years. The whitsters 88, showing an increase of nine in that period. In this volume, the stage coaches are separated from the waggons and carriers. The coaches, or, as they were then termed, "machines," were one to Ashton, three days a week (also a caravan on the same days); one to Birmingham, being fifteen hours on the road, from two a.m. to five p.m.; one to Leeds (or rather to Halifax, where the Leeds met the Manchester machine), also a "Salford diligence," in the same way, one to

Liverpool (or rather to Warrington, where the Liverpool coach was met); and another in the winter season; three to London,—two being called "post," and the third a "flying post,"—two starting by different routes, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and the third every Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday; and two to and from Stockport daily. But the chief traffic, for goods and passengers, seems to have been by carriers' carts and waggons, of which there were a great number, to places with which there was no coach communication. The canal and navigation vessels were much the same as eight years before; the "Duke's barges," the swiftest passenger boats on the Bridgewater canal, went from Manchester to Altrincham in two hours, Altrincham to Lymm in two, thence to Stockton Quay in one; to Preston-o'th'-Hill in two more; and thence to Runcorn in one hour; making the voyage from Manchester to Runcorn in eight hours. The names and distances of the wharfs on the navigation from Manchester to the rivers Trent and Severn and the Birmingham canal are given; the freights being for perishable goods 3d. per ton per mile, for non-perishable goods, 2½d. From Manchester to Etruria (the centre of the Potteries), 58 miles; to Haywood, the junction with the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canals, 77½, to Shardlow, the junction with the river Trent, 116; whence goods were re-shipped to all parts of the eastern coast,—the freight from Shardlow to Gainsborough being 10s. per ton. On the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal, to Authurley, the junction with the Birmingham canal, the distance from Manchester is 98¾ miles; to Stourport, the junction with the river Severn, 123¾ miles; and thence goods were re-shipped to all places on that river; freight from Stourport to Bristol, 10s. per ton. On the Birmingham canal to Wolverhampton, 101 miles from Manchester; to Birmingham, 123½: and there goods were reloaded,—land carriage from Birmingham to London being £4 10s.; and from London to Birmingham, £3 per ton.

The only additions to the magistrates in the Manchester division are the Rev. Maurice Griffith, D.D., Manchester, and

Samuel Clowes, jun., Esq., Broughton, near Manchester. It seems that in 1781 there were in Manchester and Salford ten fire-engines kept: two at the Old Church lodge, two at the Court House, Salford; one at Mr. Josiah Birch's, High Street; one each at St. Mary's and St. John's Churches; one at the Angel Yard, Market Place; one at the soap manufactory, Long Millgate; and one in Tib Lane. There were only thirteen firemen for these ten engines, of whom two were James Batty and John Clough, the deputy constables of Manchester and Salford, and a third was Thomas Bewley, "clerk to the Insurance Office."

Such useful compilations of a past period, present perhaps one of the most striking pictures of the society in Manchester in that old time. At all events they call up to remembrance those who formed the society of the period, and who were its active and impulsive spirits,—the promoters of the town's advancement, the founders of its benevolent institutions, the men to whom all its subsequent generations owe a debt of gratitude, for discharging their duties as citizens, so as to leave Manchester better than they found it,—a duty to the faithful discharge of which every member of a community is impliedly pledged, and from which no circumstances can release the "men of Manchester" in any generation of its history.

A.D. 1788.

This directory forms a 12mo volume of 131 pages, and the title page is: "A Directory for the Towns of Manchester and Salford for the year 1788. Manchester: Printed by J. Radford, in Miller's Street, for the Author." By the list of contents we learn that the compiler was Edmond Holme, whose own name does not appear in his directory. At page 4, we have the following address: "To the Readers. The public may probably think the price of this directory high; but when the great increase of the two towns, and consequently the increase of names, country

tradesmen, carriers, coaches, &c., is considered, that objection will cease. Some might expect an account of our manufactures, the increased population of both town and neighbourhood, &c.; but these would not only have swelled the size and price, but anticipated in some degree another work [which has] long been preparing for the public eye, viz., a Description of Manchester and the country twenty miles round, with an account of the ancient families, and the rise and growing opulence of the present gentry, &c. &c." [This is probably an allusion to the volume of Dr. Aikin, which was published in June 1795.] The only addition to the magistrates for the Manchester division is Michael Bentley, Esq., of Newton Lane. The magistrates for this division were reduced in number from nine in 1773 to five in 1788. In the Rochdale and Middleton division only one magistrate of 1773 remained; the additions being Sir Watts Horton, Bart., of Chadderton; Joshua Horton, Esq., of Holroyd, Yorkshire; Charles Chadwick, Esq., of Healey, Lancashire, and Mavesyn Ridware, Staffordshire; and Joseph Pickford, Esq., of Royton. In the Bolton division the only addition was Peel Yates, Esq. The following justices were then in the commission, and qualified to act within the hundred of Salford, but not then residing or acting in it: — Rev. Richard Whitehead, Clighton; Richard Townley, Esq., Belfield; Roger Aytoun, Esq., Chorlton and Inch Darnce; John Bower Joddrell, Esq., Henbury; and Oswald Mosley, Esq., Bolesworth Castle. Page 7 contains a list of the attorneys in Manchester, forty-three in number, including Messrs. Chesshyre, Duckworth, Kay, Milne, Owen, Renshawe, Ridgway, Seddon, and Worthington, — some of whose descendants are still to be found in the profession in Manchester. In this directory we have for the first time an "Alphabetical list of the squares, streets, lanes, and courts in Manchester," numbering altogether 260; being an increase in seven years, 1781–88, of 63, as compared with an increase of 23 in the preceding eight years, 1773–1781. There are eighty-six pages of the directory of "names of the merchants,

manufacturers, &c.;" and as these average about thirty names on each page, we have a total of about 2,580 names; being an increase of 660 in the seven years, as against one of 390 in the preceding eight years. In other words, the "directory" names had increased from 1,530 in 1773, to 2,580 in 1788, or within 500 of being doubled in fifteen years. We select a few names of those to whom the compiler attaches the "Esq.," and some other notables:

Allen William, Esq., banker, Bank Street, St. Ann's and Davyholme.
Barnes Rev. Thomas, D.D., The Academy, Mosley Street.
Bentley Michael, Esq., Newton Lane.
Birch Arnold, Esq., Ardwick.
—— John Peploe, Esq., Hunt's Bank.
Brandt Charles Frederick, fustian manufacturer, Lever's Row.
Clowes Rev. John, rector of St. John's, Byrom Street.
—— Rev. John, minister of Trinity Chapel, Salford, St. John Street.
Crompton James, paper manufacturer, Collyhurst.
Delaunay and Payant, Turkey red dyers, Ridgefield.
Entwistles (John and James) and Sturtevant, check and fustian manufacturers, Norfolk Street.
Ferrier John, M.D., St. James's Square.
Ford Charles, Esq., manufacturer of check and African goods, Brown Street and Claremont.
Gaskell Daniel, Esq., yarn merchant, King Street and Clifton.
Gregg Samuel, Esq., fustian manufacturer, King Street.
Hardman John, silk and fustian manufacturer, Granby Row; warehouse, Spring Gardens.
Hulme Dauntesey and Co., cotton merchants, Exchange Street and Red Lion Street, St. Ann's.
Hyde Nathan, Esq., Ardwick.
Lloyd George, Esq., barrister-at-law, Quay Street.
Lomas George, printer and dyer, Strangeways.
Markland John, Esq., Chorlton.
Massey James, Esq., Chapel Street, Salford.
Milne Nathaniel, attorney, notary public, and coroner, Ridgefield and Bow Lane.

Mitchell Dr., Lever's Row.
Norris Henry, Esq., cotton merchant, Garret Lane.
Peel, Ainsworth, and Co., muslin manufacturers, Back Square.
——, Yates, Tipping, and Halliwell, calico makers and printers, Cannon Street.
Philips and Wood, check manufacturers, Norfolk Street.
——, Wood and Wilkinson, cotton merchants and drysalters, Marsden's Square.
Rigby William, Esq., yarn merchant, King Street, and Oldfield, Cheshire.
Roberts —, Esq., councillor-at-law, Lever's Row.
Robinson Samuel, cotton merchant, St. James's Square.
—— and Heywood, manufacturers of fustians and African goods, Mosley Street.
Royle Jeremiah, book-keeper at Mr. N. Gould's, Lever's Row.
Sandford Rev. —, rector of St. Ann's, St. John Street.
Sedgwick Roger, Esq., Deansgate.
Sempill Lady, Deansgate.
Swann Robert, Esq., Lever's Row.
Tipping Joseph, Esq., Crumpsall.
Upton Richard, Esq., Lever's Row.
Wheeler Charles, printer, Hunter's Lane.
W[h]ittenbury John, cotton merchant, Lever's Row.

Of "country tradesmen attending Manchester market," there are eighteen pages, averaging eighteen names a page, — in all about 234; which shows a trifling decrease, there being 331 in 1781. Probably this arose from some of the country manufacturers permanently opening warehouses in Manchester. Of whitsters or bleachers there were 50, being a decrease of 38 since 1781. Six "hosiers" came to Manchester on Saturdays, from Swinton, Shadow Moss, Rusholme Green, Flixton, and Davyholme. The coaches had somewhat increased, and so had the carriers. There are three "newscarriers, who likewise take parcels" to Liverpool, &c.; Congleton, &c.; and Chester, &c. There were five "porters" attending St. Ann's Square. Then follow the "navigation" vessels between Manchester and Liverpool, with a

list of seven "wharphingers" at the seven stations,—Manchester, Worsley, Broad Heath (Altrincham), Stockton Quay (near Warrington), Preston Brook (near Frodsham), Runcorn, and Liverpool. Two elegant passage boats, between Manchester and Runcorn, performed the voyage in eight hours and a half. "N.B. Tea and cakes elegantly served for breakfast, and in the afternoons, in each boat." Amongst the twenty vessels on the old navigation between Manchester and Liverpool were the following names:—The Byrom, the Chadwick, the Gartside, Irwell, Mersey, Trafford, Tipping, Markland, and Fletcher. Next come the municipal officers and special constables. George Burton, Esq., Market Street Lane, fustian manufacturer and merchant, was boroughreeve; and Messrs. Nathaniel Crompton, fustian manufacturer, St. James's Square, and James Entwisle, manufacturer, Rusholme, constables of Manchester; Robert Scholes, deputy-constable; three beadles. In Salford, Benjamin Makin, Esq., woollen draper, Chapel Street, was boroughreeve; Messrs. Joseph Harrop, gentleman, Bury Street, Salford, and George Clowes, fustian manufacturer, Greengate, Salford, constables; Thomas Kinnison, deputy constable; and one beadle. The special constables were in fourteen divisions, known as the fourteen old police districts of Manchester. We give the names of the conductor of each division:—

DIV.	CONDUCTOR.
No. 1.	Nathaniel Kirkman.
2.	J. F. Phillips, St. Mary's.
3.	M. Falkner, Market Place.
4.	Jonathan Beever, Parsonage.
5.	James Billinge, St. Mary's.
6.	George Lloyd.
7.	William Heywood, jun.
8.	Thos. Jones, Mosley Street.
No. 9.	Richd. Meadowcroft, Hanging Ditch.
10.	James Gordon, Withy Grove.
11.	James Kearsley, King Street.
12.	Joseph Harrop, Salford.
13.	Joseph Leech, Salford.
14.	Charles Smith, High Street.

Next comes an "Alphabetical list of the feoffees of Chetham's or Blue Coat Hospital, in Manchester, as filled up March 24, 1788:"

Allen William, Esq., Davyhulme.
Asheton Rev. Dr., Middleton.
Aynscough Rev. T., Fell. Col. Ch.
Banks William, Esq., Winstanley.
Barrow Thomas Esq., Salford and Smedley.
Booth John Gore, Esq., Salford.
Bradshaw Jas., Esq., Darcy Lever.
Clayton John, Esq., Carr House.
Clowes Sam., jun., Esq., Broughton.
Derby Earl of, Knowsley.
Egerton Wm., Esq., Tatton Park.
Ford Charles, Claremont.
Gartside John, Esq., Crumpsall.
Grey de Wilton Baron, Heaton House.
Haddon Rev. P., vicar of Leeds.
Houghton John, Esq., Baguley.
Hulton Wm., Esq., Hulton Park.
Kearsley Josiah, Esq., Hulton.
Lawson Charles, M.A., Manchester.
Parker Rev. John, Astle.
Pickford Joseph, Esq., Royton.
Ridgway John, Esq., Bolton.
Tipping Joseph, Esq., Crumpsall.
Walmesley George, Esq., Goose Lane.

Next are lists of the officers of the Infirmary and Lunatic Hospital, and His Majesty's officers of Excise, consisting of a collector, three supervisors, twenty-two officers, two permit writers, export surveyor, two export officers, a first and second clerk, — in all thirty-two, a large staff; but at that time there were excise duties on many articles of manufacture, now exempt.

A.D. 1794.

The directory of 1794 is a 12mo volume of 200 pages, entitled "Scholes's Manchester and Salford Directory, &c. Manchester: Printed by Sowler and Russell, 1794." Eight pages are occupied by "A short sketch of the history of Manchester; first published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*." From this account we take the following copious extracts:

Manchester was accounted a large and populous town even fifty years ago; but since that time it is supposed to have increased in more than a triple proportion, both in respect of buildings and inhabitants. The houses amount to a number not far short of 12,000; and perhaps it may not be an over-rate to reckon seven persons to each, when it is considered, that, of the houses occupied by the working people of various descriptions, many

have two, three, and sometimes four families in each. For though many hundred houses have been built in the course of a few late years, yet are they constantly engaged as soon as possible; the avidity for building increasing with every new accession of inhabitants, and rents rising to a degree scarcely known in other places, a guinea per square yard, chief rent, having been refused for some central plots. A very wise law has been inserted in the new police act, for the prevention of fires; and that is, that between every two houses a party wall shall be built. The expense may be thereby a little increased, but that should never be put in competition with more valuable property and still more valuable lives. Such, however, has been the happy concurrence of ingenuity and industry, and such the astonishing improvements daily making in its numerous manufactures, together with the encouragement these afford to skilful artists in various branches, that streets must extend in proportion: yet population appears to have increased more rapidly than buildings, hence competition naturally arises, and hence a temporary advance of rents. The manufactures of this town and neighbourhood, from humble domestic beginnings about two centuries ago, have now, after progressive improvements, acquired such celebrity, both in the scale of ornament and utility, as to spread in ten thousand forms and colours, not only in these kingdoms, but over all Europe, and even into the distant continents. The population of the town may be further calculated from the great number of cotton factories within the boundaries of the town, wherein it is thought that 20,000 men, women, and children, are employed in the mere branches of preparing warp and weft. If to these be added the many hands applied to weaving, &c., &c., beside all the more general mechanics, as well as householders, domestic servants, &c., Manchester may be ranked as the most populous market town in Great Britain. The marriages in Manchester and Salford, from January, 1791, to January, 1792, were 1,302, the christenings 2,960, and the burials 2,286. Hence, should it be computed that one in every thirty persons died, the number of inhabitants would amount to 68,580, which is thought to be much under the sum of an actual enumeration. The streets are about 600, many of them spacious and airy, great part of the old buildings being removed, and the new streets allowed a convenient breadth. The town is well lighted every night by 2,000 lamps, and guarded by nearly 200 watchmen. . . . . [After noticing the collegiate churches and other places of worship,

Chetham's Hospital and Grammar School, and various other public institutions and buildings, the account continues:] The Infirmary, Dispensary, Lunatic Asylum, and Public Baths, are all situated on one large airy plot of land, in the most elevated and agreeable part of the town; a pleasant grass-plot and gravel walk extending the whole length of the buildings; a canal [or pond] intervening between them and the public street, next to which it is guarded by iron palisades. The Lying-in Hospital is situated in Salford, at the end of the old bridge. A new workhouse is completed; and for such a purpose a happier spot could not be found in any town than that whereon it is erected, being on an equal eminence with the college on the opposite side of the Irk, and promising the greatest possible comforts to such as may be necessitated to become its inhabitants. The Exchange was a strong good building; but since the late Act of Parliament obtained for further improvements of the town, it has been sold and taken down, and its site formed into a convenient area, to the great advantage of the surrounding houses. The Theatre is a neat building, wherein the boxes are placed in a semicircle opposite to the stage. The Gentlemen's Concert Room is an elegant building, capacious enough to accommodate 1,200 persons. The new Assembly Rooms are large and commodious. The Circus is a capacious and handsome building, adapted either for equestrian or dramatical exhibitions. Here are two market places, the old and the new; which are well supplied with everything in season, though at high rates. There are several charity schools belonging to different churches and chapels, where children are furnished with clothes and taught to read. The Sunday schools are numerous, and afford instruction to upwards of 5,000 children.

Over the Irwell are three bridges, uniting the town with Salford; the old bridge is very high at the Manchester end, whence it slopes into Salford. The middle bridge [Blackfriars], four feet wide, raised upon timber, and flagged, is only for accommodation for foot-passengers, who from the Manchester side must descend to it by nearly forty steps. The lower bridge [New Bailey] is a handsome stone building of two arches; this bridge affords a level road for two or three carriages abreast. It was undertaken and finished by the private subscription of a few gentlemen, and a small toll is taken for all passing, which toll is annually let by auction, and pays the proprietors remarkably well. From Manchester there are four bridges over the Irk; three of them are for the passage of carriages, the other will only

admit a single horse to pass at a time. The Irwell having, at a great expense, been rendered navigable for vessels of twenty or thirty tons burthen, there is a constant communication between Liverpool, Manchester, and the intermediate places on the Irwell and Mersey, to the great advantage of the proprietors and the country at large. This navigation, and more especially the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, opening a passage from Manchester to the Mersey at thirty miles' distance, have together greatly contributed to the present highly flourishing state of the town. Advantages still greater, because more widely diffusive, may result from the intended union of the Humber and the Mersey by a junction of the Rochdale Canal with that belonging to his grace. A canal from Bolton is to join the Irwell.

We must not omit to notice the new penitentiary house called the New Bailey, for separate confinement of various criminals. Over the entrance is a large session room, with adjoining rooms for the magistrates, counsel, jurors, &c. Beyond this in the centre of a large area inclosed by very high walls, stands the prison, an extensive building, forming a cross three storeys high, and the four wards of each storey may in an instant be seen by any person in its centre. This prison is kept surprisingly neat and healthy; and such as can work at any trade, and are not confined for crimes of the greatest magnitude, are employed in a variety of branches; so that one may be seen beating and cleansing cotton, another carding it, another roving, and a fourth spinning. In the next place may be observed a man or a woman busy at the loom; and in another, one or more engaged in cutting and raising the velvet pile. At Kersal Moor, three miles distant, horse races are annually permitted. The banks of the rivers and various brooks about the town afford excellent situations for the numerous dye-houses employed for a multitude of fabrics. Among other things the manufacture and finishing of hats is carried on to an extent of great importance. The general market is here on Saturdays. Tuesday's market is chiefly for transacting business between the traders and manufacturers of the town and circumjacent country. The fairs are on Whitsun Monday, October 1st, and November the 17th. Manchester is a manor, with courts leet and baron. It sends no members to parliament, but gives title to a duke. The annual fall of rain is here about 44 inches. From January, 1793, to January, 1794, it was 36½ inches. The sun's greatest heat in 1793 was 78°.

The Manchester (division) magistrates were the Rev. Maurice Griffith, D.D., Manchester; the Rev. John Griffith, clerk, M.A., Manchester; Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Esq., of Hope; Peter Drinkwater, Esq., near Agecroft Bridge; and Henry Norris [Norreys], Esq., of Manchester and Davyhulme. In 1794 Mr. James Entwisle was boroughreeve of Manchester; Mr. George Walker, of Salford; and Richard Unite was then deputy-constable of Manchester. The following were the Masonic lodges then meeting in Manchester: Fortitude, No. 63; Unanimity, No. 111; Integrity, No. 212; St. John, No. 255; Napthali, No. 441; Unity, No. 442; Union, No. 443; and Tranquillity, No. 495. The directory list occupies 154 pages, averaging 36 names on a page, or 5,544 names in all. The country manufacturers occupy 18 pages. From an alphabetical list of streets, &c., we learn that 61 streets were then "laid out, but not built upon." There were then four fire insurance offices in Manchester, the Royal Exchange, Sun, Phœnix, and Liverpool. There were eleven fire engines, not in one place, but at stations up and down the town. The conductor of the Sun Fire Office was the agent of that company, Miss Plant, 7, King Street.

A.D. 1797.

This is a 12mo volume, of 196 pages, second edition: "Manchester: printed by Sowler and Russell, Deansgate, 1797." This volume came into our possession, by purchase, at the sale of the late Dr. Dalton's library, in October, 1844, and has his autograph on the title page. The title will explain the contents of the book: "Scholes's Manchester and Salford Directory; or, Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Principal Inhabitants; with the numbers as affixed to their houses. Also, an alphabetical list of country manufacturers, bleachers, &c., — an alphabetical list of the streets, squares, lanes, and passages — a list of carriers, by land and water; with the days of their arrival and return — an account of stage coaches going out from the different inns —

the situation of the assurance offices, with the names of the agents — the situation of the fire plugs and engine houses, with the names of the conductors and firemen — with other matters of useful information." We learn, by a sort of address to the purchasers, that it was the compilation of John Scholes, jun., and was probably sent to press soon after the 7th April, 1797, as a notification under that date intimates that

> Any removals, alterations of partnership, &c., which take place on or before the 24th of June (if notice is given in writing at Mr. Scholes's tea warehouse, the Grasshopper, No. 103, Market Street Lane), will be published the 1st of July next, and delivered gratis to the purchasers of this edition, by applying as above.

The directory portion of the book occupies 141 pages, and on an average there appear to be about 40 names in a page. This would give about 5,600 names as the total. A glance through its pages revives reminiscences of the living and moving inhabitants of Manchester half a century ago, most of whom are now at rest. The following are a few of the names which struck us in turning over its pages:

Ackers Holland, Esq., 23, White Cross Bank, Salford.
—— James Esq., Lark Hill, Salford.
—— Mrs., 5, North Parade.
—— James and Beever, twist manufacturers and logwood grinders, Broken Bank, Salford.
Arkwright Richard, Esq., cotton spinner, 9, Cromford Court.
Assheton William, gentleman, 30, Greengate, Salford.
Barnes Rev. Thomas, D.D., professor of divinity at the New College; house No. 14, Dawson Street, [now Mosley Street].
Bayley Rev. Cornelius, D.D., incumbent of St. James's, 3, Charlotte Street.
—— Rev. James, fellow of Collegiate Church, Withington.
Birks Thomas, export officer, 47, Oldham Street.
Brookes Rev. Joshua, A.M., chaplain of the Collegiate Church, 11, Long Millgate.
Cheek Rev. Nicholas Mosley, incumbent of St. Stephen's Church, 1, St. John's Parade.

Clowes Rev. John, A.M., rector of St. John's Church, 1, St. John's Parade.
Cowdroy and Boden, printers and editors of the *Manchester Gazette*, 22, St. Mary's Gate.
Cowherd Rev. William, classical and commercial school, Bootle Street; house, Gartside Street.
Cowling John, M.D., 14, Faulkner Street.
Cross William, Esq., collector of excise, 86, Deansgate.
Darbey Rev. John, M.A., second master of the Free Grammar School, 20, Long Millgate.
Ferriar John, M.D., 4, Dawson Street.
Gaskell Rev. Thomas, English master of the Free Grammar School, 8, Halliwell Street.
Griffith, Rev. Maurice, D.D., fellow of the Collegiate Church, 16, Bradshaw Street.
—— Rev. John, M.A., fellow of the Collegiate Church, 12, Fennel Street.
Hall Rev. Samuel, M.A., minister of St. Peter's and surrogate, Oxford Street.
Harrop James, printer, bookseller, stationer, stamp distributor, medicine vendor, and postmaster, 40, Market Place. [? Manchester Mercury Office.]
Heywood, Brothers, and Co., bankers, corner of St. Ann's Street.
Hibbert, Wanklyn, and Bradshaw, merchants and manufacturers, 7, Artillery Street.
Hull John, M.D., 8, St. James's Square.
Hulme Dauntesey, cotton merchant; house 33, Crescent, Salford.
Lawson Charles, M.A., first [or high] master of the Free Grammar School, 5, Long Millgate.
Le Sassier Peter, M.D., 14, Lever's Row.
Lynch Daniel, chemist and druggist, 13, Market Street Lane.
Milne, Sergeant, and Milne, attorneys, 5, Bow Street, Back King Street.
—— Nathaniel, attorney; house 59, King Street.
Owen John, attorney, 10, Hulme Street.
Pedley Rev. James, A.M., assistant-master of the Free Grammar School, and curate of Pendleton chapel, 44, Chapel Street, Salford.
Percival Thomas, M.D., F.R.S., &c., 7, Mosley Street.
Philips, Wood, and Wilkinson, cotton merchants, and drysalters, Brown Street, and 19, Spring Gardens.
Radcliffe Rev. John, A.M., librarian [of Chetham's Library] at the College.
Rasbotham Rev. Dorning, Fellow of the Collegiate Church, St. John Street.
Roby Rev. W., 20, Bloom Street.

Shawcross John, cotton spinner and manufacturer, 17, Back Square; house 39, Major Street.

Shepherd Alexander, hirer of carrying chairs [sedans?], under 59, Fountain Street.

Smyth Rev. Edward, A.M., incumbent of St. Clement's Church, Ardwick.

Taylor Alexander, M.D., 11, Mosley Street.

Walker Thomas, merchant; house 7, South Parade.

Ward Thomas Achurch, one of the managers of the Theatre Royal, George Street.

Wheeler Charles, printer of the *Manchester Chronicle*, 3, Cannon Street.

White Rev. Samuel, schoolmaster at the College, 17, Travis Street.

—— John Bradshaw, surgeon, 19, King Street.

Wild James, steward to Sir John Parker Mosley, Bart., lord of the manor of Manchester, Hulme Place.

In this directory, we see commission agents were called commissioners.

The public buildings and institutions of the town are given in capital letters, of which we copy a few:

Cheese House, 21, Hanging Ditch.
Circus, 3, Chatham Street [Piccadilly].
Cloth Hall, Greengate, Salford.
Concert Room, 44, Fountain Street.
Dispensary, Parker Street.
Excise Office, 4, Southgate, St. Mary's.
Lamp Office, 5, Red Cross Street.
Manor Court House, 2, Fountain Street.
Meal House, top of Market Street Lane.
New College, 14, Dawson Street, [now Mosley Street].
Police Office, 63, King Street.
Post Office, 40, Market Place.
Theatre Royal, 16, Spring Gardens.

The next portion of the directory is occupied with "An alphabetical list of the country manufacturers, bleachers, and others attending the Manchester market, with the place of their abode, and the inns they put up at," which fills sixteen pages, but they number only 332 individuals or firms. To this follows "An

alphabetical list of the streets, lanes, and passages, in the towns of Manchester and Salford, with a reference to their situations." Of these there are 28 in A, 102 in B, 60 in C, 40 in P, 71 in S, 23 in T, 36 in U, and in the other letters chiefly smaller numbers; in the whole 674 streets, lanes, and passages in the two towns. But of these 65 are distinguished as "streets laid out, but not built upon." Amongst these are Charles, Chester, and Clarendon Streets (branching from Oxford Street); Devonshire Street, Cavendish Street; Hope Street, Piccadilly; Irwell Street, Chapel Street, Salford; Oxford Street, Dawson Street; Sydney Street, Oxford Street; Temple Street, Russell Street; and Worcester Street, Cambridge Street.

Page 169 contains a list of the "Magistrates acting in and for Manchester, Rochdale, Middleton, and Bolton divisions of Salford hundred;" which, besides its intrinsic interest, also shows that in 1797 some of the magistrates of the Manchester division sitting at the New Bailey, had for their clerk Mr. Nathaniel Milne; others Messrs. Milne and Sergeant; and another magistrate had for his clerk, Mr. Lawrence Walker. We give the lists entire:

MANCHESTER.—Thomas Butterworth Bayley, Hope, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Nathaniel Milne, attorney, Manchester. Peter Drinkwater, near Agecroft Bridge, Esq.; clerks, Milne and Sergeant, attorneys, Manchester. Henry Norris, Manchester and Davyhulme, Esq.; clerks, Milne and Sergeant, attorneys, Manchester. Michael Bentley, Esq.; clerks, Milne and Sergeant. Thomas Richardson, Esq,; clerk, Mr. Nathaniel Milne. John Leaf, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Nathaniel Milne. John Simpson, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Nathaniel Milne. William Broome, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Lawrence Walker.

ROCHDALE AND MIDDLETON.—Sir Watts Horton, of Chadderton, Bart.; clerk, Mr. Richard Holt, attoney, Rochdale. Mr. Richard Chadwick, of Healey, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Richard Holt, attorney, Rochdale; John Entwisle, of Fox Holes, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Richard Holt, attorney, Rochdale. Rev. Thomas Drake, D.D., Rochdale; clerk, Mr. Richard Holt, Rochdale.

BOLTON.—James Bradshaw, of Darcey Lever, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Whiteley, attorney, Bolton. Roger Dewhurst, of Halliwell, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Samuel Rathbone, attorney, Bolton. Rev. Robert Dean, clerk, Bolton; clerk, Mr. Hardman. Adam Fletcher, Breakmite, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Hardman.

STOCKPORT.—John Phillips, near Stockport, Esq.; clerk, Mr. Newton, attorney, Stockport. Rev. Charles Prescott, clerk, Stockport; clerk, Mr. Watson, attorney, Stockport.

Then we have the municipal authorities of the two towns:

MANCHESTER.—Mr. Joseph Hardman, boroughreeve; Mr. Thomas Boardman, Mr. James Hardman, constables; Richard Unite, deputy constable, chosen by the constables; William Bury, deputy constable, chosen by the jurors of the court leet; William Sephton, Richard Cooke, William Emmerson, beadles.

SALFORD.—Mr. George Clowes, boroughreeve; Mr. Thomas Leeming, Mr. Thomas Holland, constables; Thomas Kinaston, deputy constable; James Berry, beadle and bellman.

To these succeed the "names of the districts of Manchester, Salford, Ardwick, Chorlton Row, and Hulme, with the names of the special constables." The following are the numbers in each district:

No. of District.	Sp. Cons.	No. of District.	Sp. Cons.
1. New Cross	20	12. St. Mary's	19
2. St. Michael's	20	13. Old Quay	14
3. Collegiate Church	27	14. St. John's	5
4. St. Clement's	9	Newton Lane	15
5. St. Paul's	25	Salford	22
6. Exchange	10	Ardwick, Chorlton Row, and Salford	17
7. Minshull	20	Hulme, Manchester, and Salford	9
8. St. James's	19		
9. St. Ann's	17		
10. Oxford Street	4		
11. St. Peter's	12	Total Special Constables...	284

There were in 1797 only three fire insurance offices in the town, the Royal Exchange, 81, Market Street Lane; Sun, 7, King Street; and the Phœnix, 11, Exchange Street. There were only eleven fire-plugs in the town, of which the following were the situations: Market Cross, Hyde's Cross, Dangerous Corner, Apple Market, middle of Hanging Ditch, middle of Cannon Street,

bottom of Deansgate, opposite St. Mary's Gate, Deansgate; opposite Dr. Hall's, Deansgate; opposite Mr. Bancks's, St. Ann's Square; opposite Brown Street, Market Street Lane. At this time there were eleven small fire engines in Manchester, at different stations, viz.: No. 1, Lodge, Old Church Yard; 2, Swan Inn, top of Deansgate; 3, Simpson's Factory; 4, Angel Yard, Market Place; 5, at the back of North Parade, St. Mary's; 6, Milk Street, Founding Street; 7, Sounding Alley; 8, Bridgewater Arms; 9, Infirmary engine; 10, facing the Old Quay; 11, Sun Fire engine, corner of Hatter's Lane. Each engine had its conductor, and one, two, or three firemen; in all, eleven conductors and nineteen firemen. Besides these, there were two engines in Salford, one at the lodge, Greengate, and the other at Mr. Boardman's, near the chapel; with four firemen, each of whom had a key of the engines.

Of the officers of the Infirmary for 1797, we see that his grace the Duke of Bridgewater was president; John Leigh Philips, Esq., treasurer; physicians, Drs. Ferriar, Bardsley, and Holme; surgeons, Messrs. William Simmons, John Bill, Alexander Taylor, M.D., Robert Killer, Michael Ward, and Gavin Hamilton; physician extraordinary, Dr. Percival; visiting apothecaries, Mr. Thomas Henry, F.R.S., and J. Drinkwater, M.D. Of the House of Recovery, T. B. Bayley, Esq., was president, and it is stated that there was a decrease in burials of nearly four hundred, owing to this charity (though it was established only the preceding May), "as the report of the Stranger's Friend Society will amply testify, corroborated by the unanimous voice of others employed in attendance on the sick poor." Of the Lying-in Hospital, Lord Grey de Wilton was president, and the vice-presidents were Sir John Parker Mosley, Bart., Rev. R. Asheton, D.D., warden of the Manchester College, Lieutenant-Colonel Clowes, and Robert Peel, Esq., M.P.

Then follow "the freight of goods to and from the different quays," on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, the fares in the "elegant passage boats," and the fares on the other canals.

The following tables exhibit the fares and carriage, by coaches, in 1797:

Coaches from the Bridgewater Arms, High Street.—The London royal mail coach, with a guard all the way, sets out from the above inn, at (or soon after) one o'clock every morning, arrives at the Swan-with-two-Necks, Lad Lane, London, in twenty-eight hours.

Towns.	Miles Distant.	Fares.	Small Parcels.	Large Parcels.
		FARES.		
		£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Macclesfield	—	20	0 10 0	0 6	0 6 per stone.
Leek	13	33	0 16 0	1 0	1 0 per stone.
Ashburn	15	48	1 4 0	1 0	0 1 per lb.
Derby	13	61	1 10 0	1 0	0 1 per ditto.
Loughborough	17	78	1 16 0	1 0	0 1 per ditto.
Leicester	11	89	2 2 0	1 6	0 1½ per ditto.
Harborough	15	104	2 10 0	1 6	0 1½ per ditto.
Northampton	17	121	3 0 0	2 0	0 2 per ditto.
Newport	15	136	3 13 6	2 6	0 2 per ditto.
Wooburn	9	145	3 13 6	2 6	0 2 per ditto.
Dunstable	9	154	3 13 6	2 6	0 2 per ditto.
St. Alban's	12	166	3 13 6	2 6	0 2 per ditto.
Barnet	10	176	3 13 6	2 6	0 2 per ditto.
London	11	187	3 13 6	2 6	0 2 per ditto.

The Carlisle royal mail coach sets out from the above inn every morning at (or soon after) two o'clock.

Towns.	Miles Distant.	Fares.	Small Parcels.	Large Parcels.
		FARES.		
		£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Hulton	—	11	0 5 6	0 6	0 6 per stone.
Chorley	11	22	0 10 0	0 6	0 6 per ditto.
Preston	11	33	0 14 6	0 8	0 10 per ditto.
Garstang	11	44	0 18 0	1 0	0 1 per lb.
Lancaster	11	55	1 2 0	1 0	0 1 per ditto.
Burton	11	66	1 6 0	1 0	0 1 per ditto.
Kendal	11	77	1 10 0	1 6	0 1½ per ditto.
Shap	15	92	1 5 0	1 6	0 1½ per ditto.
Penrith	11	103	1 18 6	1 6	0 1½ per ditto.
Carlisle	18	121	2 6 0	2 0	0 2 per ditto.

The York royal mail coach sets out from the above inn every morning at nine o'clock.

Towns.	Miles Distant.	FARES. Fares. £ s. d.	Small s. d.	Large Parcels. s. d.
Rochdale	— 12	0 5 0	0 6	0 6 per stone.
Halifax	16 28	0 12 0	0 8	0 8 per ditto.
Bradford	8 36	0 15 6	0 10	0 10 per ditto.
Leeds	10 46	0 19 0	1 0	1 0 per ditto.
Tadcaster	14 60	1 5 0	1 6	0 1½ per lb.
York	9 69	1 8 0	1 6	0 1½ per ditto.

The Liverpool royal mail coach sets out from the above inn every day at one o'clock.

Towns.	Miles Distant.	FARES. Fares. £ s. d.	Small s. d.	Large Parcels. s. d.
Warrington	— 18	0 8 0	0 6	0 6 per stone.
Liverpool	18 36	0 14 0	1 0	1 0 per ditto.

There were also coaches to London, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Lancaster, and Liverpool, from the Lower Swan Inn, Market Street Lane; to Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Birmingham, from the Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch; to Bury and Rochdale, from the Manchester Arms, Long Millgate; and to Stockport, from the Higher Royal Oak, Market Street Lane.

The next five pages are filled with the names, inns, and destinations of carriers; and the volume concludes with an appendix of two pages to the directory, in which we observe the names of Darwell Thomas, manufacturer, house 15, Ridgefield; Jenkinson and Hulme, mule spinners, Fletcher's calender house, Back Square; Owen John, attorney, 13, Ridgefield; Sergeant William, attorney, 8, Ridgefield; and Spear Arthur, merchant, house 26, Fountain Street.

A.D. 1800.

The next directory in chronological order is one three years later than that of 1797, and is entitled "Bancks's Manchester and

Salford Directory; or alphabetical list of merchants, manufacturers, and principal inhabitants, with the numbers affixed to their houses, &c. Manchester: Printed and sold by G. Bancks, corner of St. Ann's Square, 1800." Prefaced to the directory is the following notification:

G. Bancks takes this opportunity of informing the merchants, manufacturers, and inhabitants in general of Manchester, that in July next, he purposes publishing an appendix to the directory. Any removals or alterations of firms will be regularly noticed by leaving an address for that purpose at his shop, the corner of St. Ann's Square. As every person is interested in having a directory as complete as possible, G. Bancks will thankfully receive any information from those who may change their dwelling or warehouses at any time, as it is his intention to reprint the directory more frequently. — April 22, 1800.

This 12mo volume contains 248 pages, of which 198 are filled with the directory; eleven with an alphabetical list of the streets, &c.; seven with the carriers; and the remainder with miscellaneous matters; but we find no separate list of the country manufacturers, as in former and subsequent publications. One peculiarity in the directory is, that all trades and occupations are distinguished by being printed in *italics*. The names average 32 per page, or in all 6,336. The total number of streets, lanes, and passages in Manchester and Salford was 658. These numbers appear to show an increase of 736 inhabitants and (apparently from the omission of passages and unbuilt streets) a decrease of 16 streets, &c. The boroughreeve of Manchester was Mr. Charles Frederick Brandt; constables, Messrs. John Entwisle and John Baldwin: boroughreeve of Salford, Mr. John Boardman; constable, Mr. Jonathan Gunson.

Two novelties in this directory are forms of contract for lighting the town and for scavenging it. There were forty-two watchmen, at 13s. weekly for the winter half-year, and 10s. weekly for the summer half-year. The directory contains a list of six orders and resolutions of the sessions for the good government of licensed alehouses. These are signed by Thomas B. Bayley, Peter Drink-

water, John Leaf, and John Simpson. This directory contains no list of London or country bankers. Having now reviewed all the directories of the 18th, we shall next briefly notice a few of those which appeared in the early part of the present century. The first of these, is one in our possession, purchased at the sale of the late Dr. Dalton's library, in 1844.

A.D. 1804.

This is a small 12mo volume of 260 pages, entitled "Deans' and Co.'s Manchester and Salford Directory: or alphabetical list of the merchants, manufacturers, and inhabitants in general, with the numbers as affixed to their doors. Embellished with a new and correct map. Manchester: Printed and sold by R. and W. Dean and Co., Market Street Lane, 1804." The map is engraved, and is entitled "A Plan of Manchester and Salford, with the latest improvements." It professes to be on a scale of about eight inches to the mile; is "drawn and engraved by J. Pigot," and "published by R. and W. Dean and Co., Manchester, 1804." Unlike the modern plans of Manchester, it is drawn with the north at the bottom; so that Salford is represented on the right, Ancoats on the left, Knott Mill and Oxford Road at the top, and Strangeways, &c., at the bottom. The old streets and the old names are here delineated and preserved. Taking one main thoroughfare, we have Market Street Lane, Lever's Row (from Mosley Street to Portland Street), Piccadilly (from the latter to Lees and Gore Streets), Shooter's Brow (from Lees Street to about Store Street), Bank top (thence to Granby Row), London Place (from Granby Row to Ardwick Bridge), and Downing Street (from the bridge to Ardwick Green). The six names are now comprised in four, Market Street, Piccadilly, London Road, and Downing Street. In Oxford Road there were then only two houses between St. Peter's Church and the Rochdale canal; several of the churches were in the midst of gardens or waste ground, as St. George's, Rochdale Road; St. Michael's, St.

Peter's, and St. Stephen's, Salford. Hulme had only a belt of buildings on both sides of Deansgate to Knott Mill; Water Street, beyond Quay Street, had only buildings on the side next the river. Large tracts of Salford were uncovered; and a short examination of this map, in comparison with one of Manchester in 1851, shows the immense extension of the town within the last half century.

An "advertisement" intimates that "the publishers have been at very considerable expense and trouble in procuring the names of the different merchants and traders, and other useful information;" and it is added that—

They have also added a list of the bankers in the United Kingdom, with the houses they draw on in London; a list of commercial stamps, including the new duties, commencing the 11th of October next; and a new and correct map of Manchester and Salford, with the latest improvements, which will be found very useful, particularly to strangers, or persons not well acquainted with the town. The publishers were for some time unwilling to undertake the work from knowing the trouble attending it (as some persons when called on are very backward in giving the information requested, which of course adds greatly to the difficulty); but from hearing very great complaints of the old directory having grown almost useless from the length of time since it was first published, and the very great want of a new one, were induced to hazard publishing it. Should the publishers have omitted any useful matters in this their first edition, they hope to meet with the indulgence of the public; and will be thankful to receive any information whereby their future editions may be rendered more complete; as they purpose, if they meet with sufficient encouragement, to print a new directory every two years, which will be on or about the 1st of January.—September 1, 1804.

The directory occupies 194 pages, and averages 40 names in a page, making about 7,760 names, being an increase of 1,424 in the four years. The firms of 1804 being many of them still in existence, and all within the recollection of many residents of Manchester, we do not think it necessary to continue our selections of names, with the following exceptions:

Crossley, Martha and Son, calico printers, 19 Cannon Street (in 1808–9, New Blue Boar Court, a firm of extensive business at the beginning of the present century in Halifax, Manchester, and London. Of Mrs. Martha Crossley the present president of the Chetham Society is the grandson.)

Ferriar John, M.D., 4 Dawson Street.

Rothschild N. M., merchant and manufacturer, Brown Street, house Downing Street, Ardwick (in 1808–9, 3 Back Mosley Street, house 25 Mosley Street).

These are followed by "a list of country manufacturers, bleachers, dyers, &c., attending the Manchester markets, with place of residence, situation of warehouse, and inns they put up at." This fills sixteen pages, with an average of twenty-five names in a page; in all about 400. Then follow lists of the London and provincial banks, the Manchester banks being Jones and Co. (London agents, Jones and Co.), and Heywood and Co. (London agents, Thellusson and Co.); a list of commercial stamps, including the new duties commencing October 11th, 1804; the carriers by land, filling six pages; the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, the passage boats, the Old Navigation; the Rochdale, Huddersfield, Ashton, Oldham, Stockport, and Peak Forest canals; the Bolton and Bury canals; the coaches, from the Bridgewater Arms, High Street; the Royal Oak Inn and the Swan Inn, Market Street Lane; the Bull's Head, Market Place; the Star Inn, Deansgate; and the Manchester Arms, Long Millgate. Then come the magistrates in the three divisions of the Salford hundred; the boroughreeves and constables of Manchester and Salford; the names of the [police] districts of Manchester and Salford, Ardwick, Chorlton Row, and Hulme [and their boundaries], with the names of the special constables; the situation of the [fire] engines, with their conductors and firemen. Mr. Thomas Knight, 34, Alport Street, was then inspector of engines and conductor of firemen; there were in Manchester eleven engines, with three firemen to each (and, as if to match them, only eleven fireplugs in the town), stationed in various quarters of the

town; and two engines in Salford (kept at the New Bailey) with two firemen to each. The officers appointed at the court leet were twelve market-lookers for fish and flesh, eight appraisers of goods; ten officers for corn, weights, and measures; seven officers to prevent engrossing, regrating, and forestalling; three searchers and sealers of leather, and two officers for weights and measures in Salford. There were twenty licensed pawnbrokers. There are various details as to watchmen, a list of the district committees of the police commissioners and the number of watchmen in each district, &c. Messrs. Milne and Sergeant were then clerks to the police commissioners; James Horsefield and Charles Briddock police-officers. Next came the officers of the Infirmary, which then had a remarkable staff of physicians, viz.: Dr. Thomas Percival, F.R.S. and A.S., physician extraordinary; Drs. Ferriar, S. A. Bardsley, Edward Holme, and James Jackson; with Messrs. Thomas Henry, F.R.S., and J. J. Boutflower, visiting apothecaries. The officers of the other medical charities follow, being an increase of forty-six in the four years since 1800. Next, the list of the society for the prosecution of felons; and lastly, "an alphabetical list of the streets, lanes, and passages in the towns of Manchester and Salford, with a reference to their situation." The total number of these is 704, being an increase of forty-six in the four years since 1800. There can be no question that, in many important respects, this directory was very superior to any that had preceded it; and this superiority having been maintained, it became in time the regular business of the firm of Dean and Co., afterwards Dean and Pigot, to 1824; then Pigot and Son, to 1840; subsequently Pigot and Slater, to 1843; and thence of Isaac Slater, to publish the directory at such intervals as were deemed to be necessary, from time to time.

A.D. 1808-9.

This is a thick 12mo volume of 288 pages, entitled "Dean's Manchester and Salford Directory for 1808 and 1809, &c. Em-

bellished with a new and correct map. Manchester: Printed and sold by R. and R. Dean, 33, Market Street Lane; sold also by the other booksellers. Price 5s. sewed, or 6s. bound." The publishers' advertisement call this their "second directory," and it adds that—

As they intend to publish a new directory every two years, they have printed much fewer copies, a great number of the last being left on hand; from which circumstance they were induced to solicit subscriptions at the time of taking the names, and very few more have been printed than what are subscribed for; and as this directory is much larger than the old one, they are under the necessity of advancing it, to non-subscribers, to five shillings sewed, though they wished to have kept it at the old price, but from the great expense and trouble attending the work, they cannot, in justice to themselves; they therefore hope for the public's indulgence and support.—December 1st, 1807.

The directory list for Manchester and Salford occupies 214 pages, averaging fifty lines in a page, or 10,700 names. The country manufacturers, bleachers, dyers, &c., attending the Manchester markets, occupy twenty-three pages. Next are lists of London and provincial banks, those of Manchester being "John Graves, town agents Le Fevre and Co.; Jones, Fox, and Co., on Jones and Co., London; and Heywood and Co. on Masterman and Co." Then follow the lists of stamps; of carriers; canal and navigation boats; coaches and their fares, mail fare to London, £3 3s. 6d.; to Macclesfield, 10s. 6d.; Bolton, 6s,; Chorley, 12s.; Lancaster, £1 8s.; Birmingham, £1 15s.; Rochdale, 6s.; Leeds, £1 3s. 6d.; York, £1 15s.; Warrington, 7s. 6d.; Liverpool, 14s., &c. Then come lists of magistrates, boroughreeves and constables, special constables, fire engines and firemen (thirteen engines in Manchester and two in Salford), manorial officers, pawnbrokers (eighteen in Manchester and three in Salford), police district commissioners and watchmen (fifty), officers of Infirmary, Board of Health, and Lying-in Hospital, and Society for the Prosecution of Felons. Lastly, an alphabetical list of the streets, lanes, and passages in Manchester and Salford, filling ten pages.

A.D. 1811.

This volume is of much larger size (8vo), and is entitled "Pigot's Manchester and Salford Directory for 1811, &c., embellished with a plan of the town, including every alteration up to the present time. [This plan is gone.] Manchester: Printed by M. Wardle, corner of New Cannon Street, for J. Pigot, engraver and copperplate printer, 11, Fountain Street. Price 5s. sewed." Here is the prefatory notice:

J. Pigot has this day the pleasure to announce to the public, the publication of his new directory for 1811, which he flatters himself will be found worthy of their preference and approbation; especially when the size of the type and paper, and the vast number of names it contains, are taken into consideration. Subscribers wishing for a larger plan than that published in the directory, will be shortly accommodated with a proof impression of one engraving expressly for this work [28 inches by 20], price 1s.; non-subscribers, 2s. 6d. J. P. has no doubt this plan will be found superior to anything of the kind yet published.— Manchester, 1st October, 1810.

The directory list for Manchester and Salford occupies 204 pages, averaging 53 names in a page, or in all 10,800 names. The country manufacturers fill 15 pages, averaging 35 names a page, or 525 in all. The lists of officers, coaches, carriers, &c., may be taken to be much the same as in the directory for 1808-9; three additional watchmen had been put on duty. The book concludes with a list of streets, eight pages in triple columns.

A.D. 1813.

This is a 12mo volume of 361 pages (in our possession), entitled "Pigot's Manchester and Salford Directory for 1813, &c. Embellished with a new and correct plan. Manchester: Printed and sold by R. and W. Dean, 80, Market Street; sold also by J. Pigot, engraver and copperplate printer, 11, Fountain Street. Price 5s. sewed." The plan or map is dated 1813, and was

"drawn and engraved," as well as "printed and published, by J. Pigot, Manchester, 1813." In the four years very few of the waste lands had been covered, and Oxford Road was still without houses. The line of street from the Market Place to Ardwick bears its present names in this map, which, like the former one, has its north at the foot. The directory occupies 282 pages, averaging 50 names on a page; in all, therefore, about 14,100 names. The country manufacturers, &c., cover 19 pages, averaging 28 names on a page, or in all 532. The Manchester bankers were—

	London Agents.
John Greaves	———
Heywood and Co.	Masterman and Co.
Jones, Fox, and Co.	Jones, Loyd, and Co.
Thomas Mottram	———

The list of stamps includes "The new duties commencing October 10, 1808." The additional coaching inns are the Mosley Arms, the Talbot, the Palace, and the Flying Horse, Market Street; the Old Boar's Head, Hyde Cross, and the White Bear, Piccadilly. Next come "The fares, laws, rules, and regulations of the hackney coaches." No more than twenty coaches were to ply for hire in Manchester and Salford, or within four miles thereof. The stands were in St. Ann's Square, and at the top of Market Street, between Marsden Square and High Street. Fares, 1s. 6d. a mile, and for every additional quarter of a mile, 6d.; for every passenger above four, an additional 6d.; for every mile beyond the limits of Manchester and Salford, an additional 3d. In this directory, we have for the first time "A list of all the churches, chapels, and meeting houses in Manchester and Salford, with their situations, names of the preachers, times of preaching, &c." Omitting the column stating times of service, we publish this list entire:

Collegiate Church, Old Church-yard: Rev. T. Blackburne, LL.D., warden; Rev. J. Gatliffe, A.M., Rev. C. W. Ethelston, A.M, Rev. E. Johnson, A.M., Rev. J. Clowes, A.M., fellows; Rev. J. Brookes, A.M., Rev.

J. H. Hindley, A.M., chaplains; Rev. C. D. Wray, A.M, clerk; E. Chantler, deputy-clerk.

St. Ann's Church, St. Ann's Square: Rev. R. Barker, A.M., rector; Rev. M. Randall, A.B., curate.

Sr. Mary's Church, St. Mary's Street: Rev. J. Gatliffe, A.M., rector; Rev. T. Hodson, curate.

St. John's Church, St. John's Street: Rev. J. Clowes, A.M., rector; Rev. R. Dallas, A.B, curate; Rev. R. Elsdale, A.M., assistant.

St. Paul's Church, Turner Street: Rev. T. Mashiter, minister.

St. Peter's Church, Mosley Street: Rev. S. Hall, A.M., rector.

St. James's Church, Charlotte Street: Rev. H. Heap, minister.

St. Michael's Church, Angel Street: Rev. Miles Wrigley, A.M., curate.

St. Thomas's Church, Ardwick: Rev. J. Cooke, A.M., curate.

St. Clement's Church, Lever Street: Rev. E. Smyth, A.M., proprietor and curate.

St. Luke's Church, Chorlton Row: Rev. A. Hepworth, LL.B., curate.

Christ Church, Christ Church Square, Hulme: Rev. S. Dean, minister.

St. George's Church, Great Newton Street: Rev. R. Bradley, minister.

Arian Chapel, Cross Street, King Street: Rev. J. Grundy, minister; Rev. J. G. Robberds, minister.

Calvinist Chapel, Cannon Street: Various.

Calvinist Chapel, Grosvenor Street: Rev. W. Roby, minister.

Calvinist Chapel, Mosley Street: Rev. S. Bradley, minister.

Calvinist Chapel, Lloyd Street: Rev. R. Jack, minister.

Arian Chapel, Mosley Street: Rev. W. Hawkes, minister.

Baptist Chapel, St. George's Road: Rev. W. Gadsby, minister.

Baptist Chapel, York Street: Rev. W. Stephens, minister.

Baptist Chapel, Cold House: Mr. Jackson and others.

Methodist Chapel, Oldham Street; Methodist Chapel, Swan Street; Methodist Chapel, Great Bridgewater Street: Rev. J. Bogie, Isaac Turton, E. Hare, W. E. Miller.

Catholic Chapel, Rook Street: Rev. R. Broomhead.

Catholic Chapel, Mulberry Street: Rev. E. Kenyon.

Welsh Chapel (Calvinists), Oak Street: Rev. J. Griffiths and others.

Band Rooms (Methodists), North Street; Cockpit Street, Salford; and Chapel Street, London Road: Thomas Painter, Holland Hoole, John Crawshaw, James Dewhurst, Humphrey Harper, Benjamin Crowther, Jonathan Hearn, John Shaw, John Patten, G. Sutherland.

Welsh Meeting (Methodists), Fleet Street: Various.
New Jerusalem Church, Peter Street: Rev. R. Jones.
Immanuelites' Meeting, Princess Street: Rev. R. Hindmarsh.
Friends' Meeting House, Dickinson Street: Various.
Methodist Chapel (New Connexion), Oldham Street.
Synagogue, Ainsworth's Court, Long Millgate: Israel Lewis, reader.
Trinity Church, Chapel Street: Rev. J. Clowes, A.M., rector; Rev. J. Smith, D.D., curate.
St. Stephen's Church, St. Stephen's Street; Rev. E. Booth, A.B., minister.
Christ Church, King Street: Rev. W. Cowherd, minister.
Methodist Chapel, Gravel Lane.
Calvinist Chapel, Windsor: Rev. — Reynolds.
Academy of Arts and Sciences, licensed as a meeting house, King-street: Rev. J. Scholfield.
Bethesda (Methodist New Connexion), Paddington, Pendleton.

The Rev. R. Dallas was chaplain to the barracks and the New Bailey; the Rev. E. Smyth to the workhouse. Various lists of public authorities and officers of the institutions follow. The Manchester fire engines had increased to fourteen. Then follow lists of auctioneers, appraisers, and pawnbrokers, and the police regulations as to watchmen.

The lists of streets, &c., occupies twelve pages, and shows less increase in the two years than might have been expected.

A.D. 1815.

A thick 8vo of 308 pages (lent by Mr. Mattinson, Owens College), entitled "Pigot and Deans' Manchester and Salford Diary for 1815, &c. Embellished with a new map of Lancashire, including part of Cheshire, from the best authorities. Manchester: Printed and sold by R. and W. Dean, 80, Market Street; sold also by J. Pigot, engraver and copperplate printer, 11, Fountain Street. Price 6s. sewed." The map in reality is one of South Lancashire only, and a part of North Cheshire. Its most northerly point is Preston; its southern limit touches Frodsham, Knutsford, and Prestbury. On the west it extends to the coast; on the east

to the Yorkshire boundary. It is on a scale of two miles and a half to the inch. The directory occupies 230 pages in large type, averaging 53 names each, or in all 12,190. The country manufacturers fill 10½ pages in small type, averaging 46 names, or 483 in all. There are the usual lists of institutions, officers, &c., which do not differ much from those for 1813. Of Chetham's Library it is stated that it "is public, and contains about 20,000 volumes." At that time it would not contain more than 18,000. "Rev. J. Allen, A.M., librarian; Mr. William Mullis, deputy-librarian; Mr. Christopher Terry, governor of the Blue Coat School." In 1815 the late Mr. H. H. Birley was boroughreeve of Manchester; Mr. Robert Hindley, boroughreeve of Salford. For the first time we have "a list of the merchants, tradesmen, &c., in Manchester and Salford, each trade separately arranged." There were then 14 accountants, 3 architects, 75 attorneys, 23 auctioneers, 4 barristers (Messrs. Richard Ashworth, John Cross, W. D. Evans, and James Norris), 16 bleachers, 20 booksellers and stationers, 17 brewers, 128 calico printers and print warehouses, 39 calenderers and makers-up, 6 coachmakers, 110 cotton spinners, 30 drysalters, 64 dyers, 9 engravers to calico printers, 14 fire insurance offices, 32 inns, 13 Irish linen dealers, 2 iron merchants, 10 ironfounders, 11 machine makers, 10 manufacturers of check, 299 manufacturers of and dealers in cotton goods, 9 flannel and baize, 98 manufacturers of fustian, 3 of heald yarn, 1 of linen, 30 of silk and cotton, 25 of smallwares, 10 of woollens, 6 of woollen cords, 131 merchants, 12 packers, 6 paper makers, 5 pattern card makers, 12 physicians (Drs. Agnew, Bardsley, sen., Ferriar, Foxley, Hardie, William Henry Holme, Hull, Jarrold, Le Sassier, Mitchell and Taylor), 18 letterpress printers, 14 reed makers, 5 red and iron liquor makers, 10 Scotch warehouses, 10 sizers, 5 smallware dealers, 9 thread manufacturers, 16 umbrella makers, 3 vitriolic [sulphuric] acid makers and dealers, 2 woolstaplers, and 3 worsted spinners and dealers. We give the newspaper publishers:

Aston Joseph, *Exchange Herald*, 14, St. Ann Street.
Harrop James, *Mercury and Volunteer*, 26, Market Place.
Wheeler C. and Son, *Chronicle*, 7, Pall Mall.

The list of streets occupies twelve pages, and shows less increase in the two years than might have been expected.

We have now brought these notices of the older Manchester Directories down to the year 1815; after which period they were published about every two years, the rapidly increasing population of the town rendering it necessary to enlarge these successive volumes from 12mo to 8vo in size, and from time to time to double and treble the number of their pages. As the Manchester Directories from that to the present time are by no means rare, we think it best to close these notices with that of 1815, more than fifty years ago.

LOCAL EVENTS.

Visits of Remarkable Persons to Manchester.

IT was in the summer of the year 79 of the Christian era, that Agricola is recorded to have conquered the British town or settlement near Knot Mill and Castlefield, which then represented Manchester; and it is not straining probabilities too far to say that that distinguished Roman commander in all likelihood visited the town after his conquest. He is said to have established a Roman station here called Mancunium, or, according to others, Mamucium.

A.D. 620. Manchester was taken by Edwin, King of Northumbria, who doubtless visited it.

870. The Danes seized Manchester, and it would appear to have been visited, if not governed, by one of their Viking leaders named Cnut, whose name is retained in Cnut's mill, modernised into Knot Mill.

923. According to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, Edward the Elder, that "noble prince," then seated at Thelwall, near Warrington, "repaired the city of Mancestre, that sore was defaced with the war of the Danes." The words of the chronicle, translated literally, are: "Year 923. Here in this year fared [went] Eadweard the King with citizen-forces [fyrde] after harvest, to Thaelwaele, and ordered that borough to be builded and inhabited and manned [garrisoned]. And he commanded other forces also of the Mercian people [or country, *theode*] the while that he there sate [stayed] to go to Manige-cester [or Mame-ceaster, Manchester] in North-Humbria, and it to make better [or repair] and man."

Five centuries and a half must now be passed over without the record of a single visit.

1465. James, abbot of Abingdon, and nuncio and commissary-general of Pope Sixtus IV. visited Manchester, to levy supplies for the maintenance of the Christian cause against the Turks.

1495. August 5, Henry VII. visited Manchester on his return from Lathom House, where he had been to see his mother, the Countess of Richmond and Derby. He does not appear to have stayed more than one day in the town.

1538. John Leland, the antiquary, visited Manchester, and described it in his Itinerary.

1579. An assembly of ecclesiastical commissioners sat in Manchester, consisting of Henry Earl of Derby, Henry Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North, and William (Chaderton) Bishop of Chester.

1617. James I., in his progress through Lancashire, is said to have visited Manchester, and to have attended divine service at the Collegiate Church.

1643. January 12, Sir Thomas Fairfax visited Manchester and made it the head quarters of his parliamentary forces.

1647. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, began his ministry; and the first place he preached at was Manchester; but he was soon silenced and compelled to leave the town.

1651. Charles II., on his route from the north, passed through Manchester.

1694. Sir Giles Eyre held a court at Manchester, for the trial of certain influential persons supposed to be implicated in the so-called "Lancashire Plot."

1716. General Willis arrived in Manchester, with the army under his command, and prepared to attack Mr. Foster and the Scottish forces of the Pretender.

1724. Dr. Stukeley having visited the town, described it in his *Itinerarium Curiosum.*

1733. The Rev. John Wesley visited Manchester twice, and preached both at the Collegiate Church and at St. Ann's.

1735. The Rev. John Wesley re-visited Manchester, to consult his friends on his project of going out as a missionary to Georgia, United States; and during his stay he preached in Trinity Chapel, Salford. George Whitfield also visited Manchester this year.

1744. Prince Charles Edward Stuart, "the young Pretender" or "Chevalier," passed several weeks in the summer of this year, in strict privacy, at Ancoats Hall; Sir Oswald Mosley the while (and during the rebellion of 1745) remaining at Rolleston Hall, Staffordshire.

1745. November 29, Prince Charles Edward entered Manchester about two p.m. (the main body of his army having entered the town about ten a.m.) and took up his residence at the house of Mr. Dickenson [afterwards called the Palace Hotel, Market Street]. He was proclaimed king by the title of James III. His army left Manchester for the south, December 1; re-entered the town on their retreat to the north, December 8, and finally left it on December 9.

1747. The Rev. John Wesley, preaching at Salford Cross this year, was indecorously treated by the crowd: one man threatened to bring out the fire engine and play it upon him.

1768. Christian VII., King of Denmark, visited Manchester, September 2, and lodged at the Bull's Head, in the Market Place; then the only inn in the town where wine might be purchased; few houses even selling spirits.

1773. March 2, Astley, the celebrated equestrian, paid his first professional visit to Manchester, his native town. He was grandson by his mother's side to Samuel Leech, Esq., who first made the river Irwell navigable.—May 21, the Russian Princess Czartoriski (the Duchess of Oldenbourgh of her day), visited Manchester.

1774. John Howard, the philanthropist, visited Manchester, and found twenty-one prisoners in the House of Correction, Hunt's Bank, which had recently been re-built; having been a prison from the time of Elizabeth.

1777. January 29, John Philip Kemble, the tragedian, made his first appearance in Manchester.

1782. Lord North visited Manchester, and dined with the gentlemen of the town, at the Bull's Head.

1784. Lord Hood and family visited Manchester.

1785. September 15, Lord Robert Spencer, Sir Frank Standish, Charles James Fox, and Mr. Grenville visited Manchester, and dined with the liberal party.—May 12, Mr. Sadler, the aëronaut, ascended in his balloon from a garden behind the Manchester Arms Inn, Long Millgate, then a private residence.

1787. July, the Rev. John Wesley held his annual conference at Manchester, attended by 150 ministers or preachers. In a sermon he predicted that the world would end in 1836!

It is not deemed necessary to continue a record of Visits during the present century.

The First Parliamentary Members for Manchester.

IN the "boroughreeve's chest," in the Town Hall, are two indentures, on parchment, of the returns of members of parliament for the town and parish of Manchester, in the middle of the 17th century. The first purports to be a return "by Peter Bould, Esq. [whose signature is "Peter Bold"], high sheriff of the county of Lancaster — of Charles Worsley, Esq., of the Platt, within the parish of Manchester," and is dated the 18th July, 1654, during the Commonwealth; being, in fact, the short parliament which succeeded that named "Barebone's Parliament," from "Praise God Barebone" being a member. The parliament, summoned September 3rd, 1654, was dissolved on the 22nd January, 1655. Mr. Worsley was the first and sole parliamentary representative of Manchester in the House of Commons. [An account of his election, with a memoir and portrait, will be found in the Rev. J. Booker's *History of Birch Chapel*, vol. xlvii. of the Chetham Society, pp. 41–51.]

The other parliamentary return is dated the 20th August, 1656, and is endorsed, "Retorne of Richard Radcliffe to serve in parliament." It sets forth that "this indenture between John Starkie [signed "John Starkey, sherife"], Esq., sheriff of this county *palantyne* of Lancaster on one part, John Radcliffe, Esq., Richard Holland, Esq., Thomas Perstwich [Prestwich], Esq., James Lancashire, &c., on the other part, witnesseth that by virtue of a warrant unto the constables of the town and parish of Manchester, from the said high sheriff to them directed, for the election and choosing of a burgess of good understanding, knowledge, and discretion, for causes concerning the public good of the Commonwealth, to be at his highness's parliament, to be holden at Westminster on the 17th day of September next: we, the said burgesses and inhabitants there, have made choice and election there of Richard Radcliffe, of Manchester aforesaid, Esq., to be burgess of the said town and parish of Manchester, to attend at the said parliament accord-

ing to the tenor of the said warrant, — . . . . . — who for himself, and all the people of the said town and parish, hath full power to do and to consent unto those things which, in the aforesaid parliament, shall then and there, by common counsel and consent, happen to be ordained. Provided, and it is hereby declared, that he shall not have power to alter the government, as it is now settled in our single person and a parliament." In witness whereof the sheriff sets his hand and seal.

In explanation of the proviso which concludes this document, we may state that the short parliament having called in question Cromwell's right to the title and power of "protector," according to Hume, "he obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the government, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition." Again, Hume states that, notwithstanding various precautions taken to secure a parliament favourable to his views, in 1656 "the protector still found that the majority would not be favourable to him: he set guards, therefore, on the door [Sept. 17], who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about one hundred, who either refused a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the parliament."

The most curious fact in connection with these old documents, in a local point of view, is that during the Commonwealth, at all events, the member for Manchester did not represent the town or borough merely, but also the entire *parish* of Manchester, covering an area of 34,507 statute acres, and containing thirty townships, including Salford and a great number of townships not now in the parliamentary borough; — amongst others, Didsbury and Withington, Failsworth, Crumpsall, and Heaton Norris. The Richard

Radcliffe, Esq., who was elected on the 12th August, 1656, was the second sole member for Manchester, and resided at the family mansion, called the Lodge, in Poolfold. We believe that these two were the only two parliamentary members possessed by Manchester prior to the passing of the Reform Bill; for on the accession (or restoration) of Charles II., in 1661, Manchester and the other populous towns, which had been represented under the protectorate, ceased to enjoy the privilege, or, as it was then regarded, to incur the liability, of sending members to represent their interests in the commons' house of the legislature.

Diary of a Manchester Wig Maker.

A small volume has been put into our hands, which proves to be the Manuscript Diary of a Manchester Wig Maker, or *perruquier*, as it is more politely named. It has a certain local interest, and was written "a long time ago." It is a small 12mo volume, of coarse paper, with dark leather back; the pages left unnumbered, and crammed with writing, and that in by no means a good hand of the period. Inside the back, opposite the first page, is written in a round hand: "Edmund Harrold: his book of Remks and obs'ns. 1712." The "Remarks and Observations" commence thus:

JUNE y^e^ 1st, 1712. Remarkable for being the sacrament day, and for my debates betwixt good and bad thoughts; but God be praised, the good angel got the better; for I went to church and heard Dr. Harpur on "As often as you eat this bread," &c., wherein he showed that it is every man's duty to communicate frequently. As it has always been the custom of benefaxtors to leave some memorial of their deaths to future generations, in all ages of the world, so this sacrament is our Saviour's badge to all his followers for them to remember what He did and suffered for their salvation. So, my scruples being solv'd, and my spirits raised to the

highest pitch of love and charity, I went to commemorate this suffering of my Lord. Then in the afternoon we had Dr. Ayns-cough: he preached on "Set your affections on things above," &c. [We omit the diarist's notes of the tenor of this sermon, as well as of all others throughout the volume.] I saw all y^e^ three friends this night, and had conference with them, both pub: private. 'Tis a great blessing to have a true friend to advise with. 2nd. This day, after duty perform'd, I went about hair, but could get none, so I set to work. 3rd. I worked al day, and at 6 at night I went 1 mile to see some hair. I bid 16s. at the head, but came without it: then I saw another, but too dark too, so I came home. 4th. Finished 1 of Mr. Chad: [Chadwick's] wiges, and begun of another. I've been taken up with a review of my life past since 1709, in which I find things a many to humble me, as well as raise me up. This day Tim Runigar and Mr. Jones fought. I would fain had gone to Mr. Jones's house, but my wife would not hear on't, so I stayed within. 5th. About eleven a clock Abram brought word y^t^ he was flown, y^t^ is, overrun y^e^ towne. So went, and there was such a hurrey of people and such confused work y^t^ I knew not what to do, to do well. So I cried y^m^ aim [to "cry aim" is a saying in archery; meaning to applaud, to encourage], and only heard how y^e^ matter was, y^t^ y^e^ tooles was sold for 40s. and he gone with the money. Now they are going to law about the tooles. Such a world as this of trouble, sorrow, loses and croses, and disappointments. I'm sorry y^t^ I was so overseen in y^e^ man, as to hurt myself by him, but it must be so, and what y^e^ event of things will be I can't tell. 6th. Meantime, I'm glad that my troble did not throw me into y^e^ sin of drunkenness, as it used to do but too often. I sticked at my work so as to finish Mr. Chad: wig this day, and have likewise done my [religious] duty, tho' but dully. This loss is purely the effects of drunkenness, for this Jones could have got 15s. a week constantly, if he would. But this cursed apetite y^t^ is insatiable, adding drunkenness to thirst, hindered him for doing himself or others any good; so I'm tho't ill on for his knavery, and am

always dashed in the teeth that it's lost thro' me; whereas we went for advice, and found the remedy worse than the disease. Thus he would a put it off to a shute, and so a run it on till he had made his, and so I should had al y^e^ charges left to pay. As it is, if ever I hear on him in business, at a corporation [town], I'll certainly lay him fast, &c. 7th. I observe one can't have a harm, but they must have a score: one loss never comes alone; for 2 pecks flower taken at mill, 3 roles gone a bakehouse, but those are found again, with one for loses, 4 . . . . . 8th. This being Whit Sunday, I had thought to had stayed sacrament, and had but for this reason,—my wife would have said that I was over presumptuous and would wonder how I durst receive weekly. It was for fear of giving offence to my weak wife that I absented myself, so I sinned for peace. Dr. Harpur and Dr. Ainscough preached this day, 1st on "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost," &c. 9th. Being the fair-day, I had pretty fair business, thank God. 10th. Remarkable for Peter Nedom's being drowned, and Peter Downes being married to Grace Hulme. My wife and I was very merry there. 11th. This day I'm to go upon the [coroner's] quest for Peter N. At 2 a clock I did so, and it was brought in chance-medley about 3. Then we went and buried him at chapel in Salford. Then I came home at 4; then I sold Will Wood his [Nedom's or Needham's] things for 7s. 6d. which Peter owed me, so I onc't [wonst, Lancashire for once] come even with sharpers, as I find his sister is. Then I spent 2d. with them at Esther's chamber, and they gave the man that took him up 12d. Then they told how Peter was fored [foretold, forewarned] of his death by a fortune-teller, y^t^ he must be drowned this summer on Whitsun Tuesday. 12th. [Remarkable] For giving Bekka Bery warning to go, and for reading Spark *On Advent,* and work hard, &c. 13th. Paid Mr. Whitworth towards parcel two shill: and given him Ambrose Works to sell again. I was out six hours about hair this afternoon, and bought only one head of carrier's daughter, at mill, at 5s. 6d. Secondly, Taper flaxen; I cut it in his house. I saw

Mrs. Jones at Millgate end, from Bro'ton. 14th. I saw all my three friends about books this day; they leave all to my own managing, but we argue the matter over again; advice is good. This day I bless God for good business. Sold Jo: Dean two wigs: entered in pocket book of accounts, and advised with J. Brk and J. B. [John Bruck and John Barlow]. 15th. In feildes [fields] it's undetermined. I went to church both ends of the day and heard Mr. Lee preach on "Blessed is the meek for they shall inherit the earth." 16th. This [day] J. Brk promised to come see me, &c. I'm begun J. C.'s wig. I'm going to seek hair; but got none. J. W. [Whitworth] offered me hat 12s. in books, or Ambrose works again. I swopt [swapped, exchanged], 1 wig with Robert Parley, of Whitehaven, for 1 whig and two boxes, long ones of wood. This day and night came in almost one a clock. Swapt and unswapt with R. P. to please wife. Neglect of pub: pra:[yer]; one time, priv: two times, the world and vanity. 17th. J. Brlw bought three second-hand Hopkins to-day. I've spoke to R. Gibson to sell the Ambrose again. My mother is very ill and my wife carries well to her. Mrs. Walker died this night about nine a clock when I was at mother's. 18th. Wife was busy; I went to see mother; then I went to draw aunt Beron's breasts, then to bed. Wife over tired and ill this night. 19th. Finished Mr. Chadwick wig, and went to the funeral of Mrs. Walker. Dr. Ainscough preached on "Oh, that men were wise," &c. Went down to J. W.'s; he would not give 14s. in books for Ambrs, so R. Gibson brought it off to sell. Spent with him and Coz, &c., 4s. I smoked one pipe at aunt's and came home. I was three times this day at aunt's to draw her. 20th. I taste the tob: in my mouth very plain, and I'm dry, but will not drink till I've sucked her. I did so; then I eat breakfast well, and talk with J. W. about books. He has two notes, — either to extol or run down commodities, as it serves his interest. This day drawn two bills [not of accommodation, but of debt or account] on Daniel Mills, roper, for 3s.; and on Esther Thorpe, widow, for rent, 10s. 6d., payable to Mr. Samuel Okes, at Chester.

The exciseman came, weighed my trimming soap, 32lb., of which made entry at the Angel, 15lb. barbers'. Spent 2¼d. a piece at Sun; then Abram gave me a pint; then I spent 2d. with J. W. and we discoursed it ore about wigs. I saw my mother and coz. Beron, Throp Philipson. Cut off Mr. Bradshaw's hair. 21st. Saw Throp's hair; it would not fit. 22nd. This day I was dull, though I went to church both ends o'th' day, and heard Dr. Bolton on "The end of those things is death." I saw J. Brk: on Saturday; other two to-day, &c. At J. Barlow's borrowed Sherlock *On Death and Judgment*: begun this night a little; I like it very well. 23rd. Remarkable for losing 4s. by Amb: works sold this day to Gamshiel Jones in J. Brk name. He likes well on it too; he has the 12s. in his hands. John Bruck owes me this day 18s. in all. I've really given Rebecca Berry warning to go at Michaelmas next. She's paid me in full Midsummer day. I heartily wish by this loss by books I may take warning for the future of buying new ones any more; or but few and very choice authors. 24th. Remarkable for three things,—seeing of fine hair; christening of Aunt Beron's daughter Mary; and curling Robert Bradshaw's wig of his own hair most. Then for spending 2d. with Mr. Philipson; 1½d. with A. T. [? Apothecary Thyer], and 2d. with Mr. Tarbock and E. C., and talked of these matters of honour, M. Lee, Thomson, and actions done to me when drunk onct. Stay till one in the morning: though not drunk, yet got too much; stayed too long; missed family duty [prayers] this night. 25th. Got up at eight in morn; shaved S. B. head; then eat some porritch; then sucked aunt Beron; then drank pint; then discoursed with Will: Heawood; lent him Tully *On Thoughts*, to read over. Ten o'clock: neglected all duties, but I'll endeavour to fetch it back by 12. About eleven I performed duty pub: and priv:—Dunn'd James Grimshaw; he says he'll on Saturday post. Discoursed with Edward Knowles and Grace Hulme about money. Spent 2d. with Tarbock. Saw the movement of the timepiece was with R. Bradshaw at Sun: discoursed about his wig. Was at aunt Beron's: her child was

very ill. I was in the Millgate about J. Pendleton Hopkins. Spoke to J. Brk and M. H. [Mary Hill]. I observe that it's best to keep good decorum and to please wf [wife]; it makes everything pleasant and easy. 26th. I worked close at reversion wig, but I was very much indisposed with pain and dulness all day; but it went off with a lask [lax] at night. I walked and talked with W. Heawood in church-yard about good matters; then I came home; to bed about ten. 27th. [Remarkable] for finishing a little wig; reckoning with Mr. Coleburn. Read the *Mercury* [The present State of Europe, or a Historical and Poetical Mercury, a periodical carried on in monthly parts from 1690 to 1721] for May. Talked with J. Barrow and Komax. 28th. For John Prince going. I being sent for to look butter weight,— J. Low, Tho: Bent, and me, took ten prints [stamped lumps of butter, short of weight]. I gave 3 to Crossley, Halliwell, and Symister; and Holden wife gave Mr. Samuell 1 print: he has got me 2s. 6d. of Thorpe, 1s. 2d. in cord of mills; he keeps the note in his hands still. Dull business at present; three o'clock after: writ a letter to wf. 29th. I was very dull, as all week. I heard curate of Stockport this day, on "Seek ye first," &c. I saw but two friends at night, J. B., M. H. and we had a round about books indeed, and the vanity of too many. Truly I'm ceited [? sated] with them at present, and vexed at J. W. and my losses with Amb: yet I kicked [nicked?] it too indd. then, and turning it into money clean, &c., tho' but 12s. 30th. Shav'd Tho: Beron's head to-day; drunk 1 pint of beer first with him: Sold J. Wd.'s wig for 4s. dd. on Saturday next. Spent 1d. John Burrows. See'd [saw] J. Brk, J. W., R. G.; stay'd not with J. W. The Kestal (?) in a mind about books to be quiet. Thus I ended this month of June, 1712.

July 1st. Warning being given 29th last past for y^e^ sacrament, with God's leave I purpose to stay, &c. This day work hard. Read a little of Bishop Hall *Invis: World.* J. W. hard tryalls and provocations, but I hope will assist me to overcome, &c. I keep close to my rules in general, and when I break y^m^ I put it

down day and date, and all to humble my soul with, &c. Went into y^e^ towne, heard some politick vanity, and y^n^ went to Jo: Barrow's, spent 2d., and so came home, ten clock. 2nd. For work hard, for company of Mr. Bradshawe and being dismissed from Aunt Barrow's for a new dinner. 3rd. For finishing Mr. Bradshaw's wig: it pleases. Begun of Mr. Wood's wig, brn [brown] one. 4th. For receiving Mr. Bradshaw's wig-making and qrg [quarterage] spent on him 6d., all is well; for curling Mr. Wood wig and for head shaving, and receiving 15s. of Jo: Bruck in part, and for paying Mr. Whitworth in full for books 16s., and for spending 3d. at Jo: Barrows; smoke 1 pipe with R. G., J. W., Mr. Heyes, &e., stayed till 11 o'clock. Bd 12s. 6d. at Hopkin's folio, this night to Jo: Pendleton. 5th. This day business is dull, and I've been reflecting on y^e^ last month's living. I bless God y^t^ I've not been drunken, yet I've something broken my rules more than I willingly would. When a man is in company it has a great influence upon him to stay, and that many times to excess, so that it causes second thoughts, and those relentings and wishes y^t^ I had not so done. Thus we do and undo, and run on circularly, &c. 6th. This day I praise [God] for his holy word and sacraments, heard and received. In the forenoon, Dr. Wroe preached on Heb. xii. 25. In the afternoon, Dr. Ainscough preached, &c. I saw but 2 friends M. H., J. Barlow, at night. 7th. This morning I had my old malancholy pain seized on me, with a longing desire for drink; so I went and paid my rent, then I sold J. G. a lock of hair pro loss 5s. 6d.; then I spent 2d. with Hall, &e., then 4d. with Mr. Allen, 'tourney; then fought with S. B. at Jane Win's about chat; then went a rambl — Key, Dragon, and Castle, and Lyon, till near 12 o'clock, till I was ill drunken; cost me 4½d. from 6 till 12. I made myself a great foole, &c. 8th. This day I lay in bed till almost 11 o'clock; I've drunk no ale to-day, yet on 6 at night I'm vext about my ramble last night. I've mist pub: priv: prayer 2 times. It's a very great trouble to me that I thus expose myself, hurt my body, offend against God, set bad example, torment my mind and break my

rules, make myself a laughing-stock to men, grieve the Holy Spirit, disorder my family, fret my wife (now quick), which is all against my own mind when sober, besides loss of my credit and reputation in the world. What must I do? What can I do? Use the creatures, and I abuse y^m, be sure, before I've done. Use y^m not, and I'm like nobody else. I'm resolved what to do,—not to drink any in a morning in the alehouse (a very good rule if followed) upon no occasion whatever for the time to come, &c. I'll go to prayers now. 9th. Paid Mr. Lodge for Comber's *Ordination* 4s., *Dptr.* [? *Departure*] *to Mattill* 3s. I'm very much indisposed, yet very dull and malancholy, but work close al day. 10th. This day I finished my wig. Went a-walking with J. W. fields; brought Bishop Beveridge *On Restitution* to read. J. W. read it twice over. It's a good sermon, and practical. 11th. Read some of Sparks and Comber and Sherlock, &c. 12th. Remarkable for dull business, and for Samuel Boardman's sending Joseph with 6d.; then I went and offered to shave him at home, but he would not, but looked as grufe [gruff] as could be. Well, says I, I'm sorry (and so I am) that it happens by drinking, but it will make one speak what they think. I was vexed to see him have wigs of others, and like as if he stayed by force, which now I see he did. Sold Jonathan Sharples my wig this night at 9s. 13th. Went to church both ends: heard Dr. Lee preach on "Remember the Sabbath Day," &c. Saw J. Brk. after sermon, he's received Burkit. Then I saw J. Brlw., M. H. at night, smk. and drink made me sick, and we had very good and profitable conversation. 16th. Began to curl and broke vile pin, y^n got it pieced W. W. cost 4d. Boship came to town about 7 o'clock, y^n I went out about 8 or past, and fell into company with Scoales, Barlow, and Pendleton; sat at Barrow's till ½ past 10, then I came home. 17th. Remarkable for St. Ann's Church consecration and a great concourse of people. Good business and I sober 8 o'clock at night, but was merry before I went to bed. Spent 3d. with Mr. Allen and Coleburn, &c. I was out about 3 hours and mist pub. pra. 2 times, for which I beg God pardon. Bishop Dawes performed the Consecration, Mr. Bagaly

endowed it, the clergy responded at entrance, Mr. Ainscough read prayers, Beatman 'sponsed, the Bishop read the gift both in Latin and English, Mr. Bond preached on "Holiness becometh thine house, O Lord," &c. Then the Bishop and clergy and who would stayed sacrament. Thus they was about 4 hours in this great work. 18th. Mr. Birch gone to Bristol. I've drank these 2 mornings, but could not avoid it, but I find it is of ill consequence. I curled my 3 wigs out this day. I went to bed at nine this night and slept while 6 in the morning. 20th. Great work at St. Ann's, but I was Christ Church and heard Dr. King on Acts ii. Afternoon Dr. Theme preached on Job xxi. 14–15. I saw al 3 friends at night, John Bruck paid me 3s. in full and I paid Mary Hill in full 3s. We are likely to separate, or continue more firm; but let God work his will, and I'll be content in the matter. 21st. Drawn 2 wigs; then I went down town, saw D. Nowell's 2 voll. *Church Catechism.* Went to J. W.'s [J. Whitworth's] to hyre a book or two, but was baulked; then I went and spent 2d. with him and J. E. at Fidler's, we was one hour in it about. I finished Comber's 3rd vol. this night. I'll begin the 4th. 22nd. Read 2 *Disquisitions* of Sparks, 'tis true. Curled 2 wigs this day, y^{n} at 8 went to Jo. Barrow's Key, with Birch man, then came A. T., J. L. Stayed till past 11 against my will. When a man goes out he can't tell when he must come in again. We was very delightful and merry, good discourse. Beginning Comber's 4th vol. Smoked 2 pipes, spent 3½d. a piece. 24th. Bought silk, spent 20d. when I wound it. Saw J. Breslow one hour, came home at 9, read some in Sherlock, and so went to bed. 25th. Read Dr. Sparks on *St. James's life and death;* very good. 26th. Rise at half-past 4, and finished A. T. wig. He gave me Beridge's 1s. ale this morning. I dd. y^{e} wig to his man in a trunk. About a quarter past 10 my wife was neding [kneading] and she had teem'd y^{e} berm of[f] o'th 2 buled [handled] pot, a new one, which she set down in the tub quickly. It gave a crack. What's that? said she; is that the pot? Says Sarah Sharples, Ay; it's a sign of death, says she. So as they was talking it gave 2 cracks more. At last my wife took up the pot and

rung it and it is as sound as can be. I have told several people. Some are of one opinion and some another. Some says it's ominous, others not; but I have noted it down in order to observe the event concerning theirs or our families to come. Received of Jonathan 12d. more, spent 1d. with him and Abraham. 27th. Went to church both ends, heard Mr. Harper and Ainscough and warning given for the sacrament, and with God's assistance I purpose to stay next Sunday. 28th. This day read the *Mercury* for June, [paid] J. W. 1d. for it. Received order for Mr. Walker's wig, J. M. 4d. towards it of his own. I begun Mr. W.'s wig this day, and swapt with E. G. for a old wig, one hoop of malt for old horse-hair wig 9s. paid. M. H. will buy 2 vols of poems, &c. I'll try. Went down to M. H. and told her concerning the books she'd buy, one that is Du Bartas. I was there one hour. Came home, read some of Sherlock, went to bed. 29th. Worked close; went out and bought M. H. Du Bartas for 5s. Spent with J. W. 1½d. at Fidler's, came home at ten and went to bed. 30th. Worked close all day, went out at 8 night, to J. Barrow, pint, played a rubber, spent 2d, smoked pipe, went M. H., gave her the 6d. and she gave me 3d. for spences [expenses] buying Du Bartas and *Management* [*of the Tongue?*] Came home at 10 went to bed. 31st. Being ruffled, with wife clamorous about my last drunken bout, and likewise about starch and gagers, I went to J. W.'s to see the act, but he had it not. I spent 2d. at Fidler's, came home and read Sherlock *On Death*, and so I ended this month of July.

Aug. 1st. This [day] I was under great temptation thro' my own flesh to drink, but I bless God I did [not] humour it. I went to A. T.'s and had my head shaved [the diarist wore a wig himself]; then we drunk one can of 3d. value; came home at 3, stayed till 8, then I spent 3d. with J. W. ourselves at Crown. Came home at 10. Begun of Sherlock *On Judgment* this night. Read this day the *History of the Principality of Orange*, and how it has been harassed by Lewis 14, and how he's persecuted the protestants. It just made my heart ake to hear of his action to them. 3rd. got up at half-past 5, went to morning prayer, heard

Dr. Harp: 2 sermons, 1st on "Justice, mercy, and humility," 2nd on "The body of Christ and members." I received the sacrament this day Dr. Ainscough's hands. I saw 2 friends at night. Bid M. H. give 14s. for Hopkins' folio to John Pendleton to pay at Christmas next. 4th. Saw J. Brk about Hopkins *On the Commandments*; he praises him hard for good doctrine. I've now 2s. stock; I think twice at it before it and I part, it's so scarce; but if anything carry it off, it will be books, I think. Went down at 8 to J. Bruck, thence to Gregson's, where smoke pipe with him; spent 2d. Richard Taylor. M. H. came and read Sherlock, and old friend advises me to keep old stock of books, because new are very dear, with excise of paper, pasteboard, and leather, and if one meddles they are further backward than ever. 5th. Worked close till 8, then went to J. Bruck for sermon of *Use and not Abuse the World,* by Bishop Dawes in Lent; 'tis a curious piece indeed. My wife was ill indeed: the lads, with false alarm, raised the street about thieves. 6th. We was very merry 5 or 6 in company; I've smoked every night this week 1 pipe, but have not abused the creatures, but used with discretion, mod: and temperance. 7th. For paying excise of grounds, 15d.; for finishing A. T. second wig; for spending 1d. with Giles Brown at Laining's; for reading Sherlock; bought hair, 10s. laid out, 4 wigs for S. W. 8. For getting 4 wigs into curls, setting razors and bought Buck's *Preparation* J. W. for 6d.; spent 2d. at Fidler's, read Sherlock. 9th. Read Spark *On Easter,* &c. 10th. Went to [church] both ends, heard Dr. Lee preach on Parable of Talents. Saw 2 friends and Dr. Taylor's sermon. Read Sherlock and Taylor's *Exemplar.* 11th. Saw J. Brk, borrowed his *Norris,* 1st volume, and I'm to borrow him *Cometius* [*Comenius?*], and lend W. B. *Recreations* for it, which I will if can, but it's lent. Worked all day, then went out and walked, and came to J. W.'s shop and talked there one hour, y^{n} went to Fidler's, and there with Parson Holbrooke and J. W. I spent 4½d., J. W. 5d., but stayed too long by one hour, had too much drink, not to disorder me then, but in morning it and tob: I smoked (2 pipes) caused me vomit a little. 13th. Got

this night of Mr. Heawood *Peace and Dunkirk*, a song; came home at ten. 15th. Finished my new wig; then went to Hardick [Ardwick], cut off 2 heads hair for Mr. Jo: Dickenson a wig; then we swapt for 28 books, and I'm to give him 2s. to boot and Spark's *Feasts and Fasts* for y^{m}. Then I smoked a pipe and drank 1 bottle drink; then I bought of Mrs. Brown 6 books for 3s., bound; I'm to pay both at Michaelmas next without fail. 16th. I got up soon and lookt at my bargain, I've in all 34 books for 34 groats, y$^{t's}$ 11s. 4d. They'll lie me in cash 10s. 4d. I'll go draw a catalogue; did part. 17th. I heard Dr. Shudall a sermon on the hardness of reclaiming a bad custom and on repentance. 18th. I had Jack's company, told my matters, y^{n} he saw my trouble in y^{e} world with T. Chandler abusing both my wife and me. Then I and W. C., T. G., T. W. drank 6d. per piece, and alas! I was for driving away sorrow, and so I was easily taken in the snare, and got past my reason. 19th. Upon the ramble; in all, at one place or other, it cost me 24d. I put Thomas Chandler in suit to Mr. John Wait's man. 20th. Got up at 6 and worked hard, and neither [ate nor] drank any ale. Did not give T. C. the meeting at Ram, and Morton, &c., but sticked at work till 12 noon, then I was at A. T.'s for a wig; drank beer, ale and bottled, A. T. Bull's Head gift. Then at Royal Oak, and that set me on sitting. 22nd. At it again; 1 pint; early set to work. I've curled 4 wigs this week and drawn 2. I mist pub: [prayer] 5 times, and priv: 5 times praying, besides al my study, and al thro' T. C.'s vexing me, and putting unreasonable demands and words. 23rd. Remarkable for selling a wig for 16s. to Thomas Hulme, and Thomas Mee for hair and money, and Mee's man Benjamin bespoke another wig. I spent 4d. on y^{m} at Fox, so we paid all debts borrowed. 24th. I heard Mr. Edmundson 2 sermons, on "Be not partakers of other men's sins," and "If ye believe not Moses and the prophets, neither," &c. I saw all 3 friends, at night came home and read Sherlock. 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th. Worked hard, kept to my duty, and finished 2 wigs well and handsomely; I was in Hardick, too, and bought 4 books

more for 3s. 10d. of Jo: Dickenson. I'm to make him a wig, &c. 30th. Sold and dd. this day Mr. Tho. Birch a wig, cash 20s.; dd. Tho. Dickenson's wig, entered it to account. 31st. I heard Dr. Dawson 2 sermons on vice, virtue, and humility, "The wicked fleeth," &c., and "Learn of me," &c. Warning was given for the communion; I purpose to stay next Sunday. I saw 2 friends only. Read Taylor and Sherlock. Thus ended this month with friends: I was sore disordered, which was a forerunner of more mischief.

Sep. 1st. In the morning I was full of pain and dull and malancholy. The very first thing wife said was about dunning T. C. and Rob. Bradshaw, which I did; but T. C. I thought must be on a drinking bout with Rob: Morton, which was so; for after dinner wife saw Rob. go to T. C.'s, who y^{n} never rested till I had seen y^{m}, who order'd me to Golden Key, Blomiley's, where we had a sad tug for it; but at last passion ceased, and we brought T. C. to do fair things and order a note of particulars to be drawn, and he would pay in time by 12d. a time. At last it cost me 9d., T. C. 8½d., and R. M. 4d. Then went to Nag's Head and spent 3¼d. a piece, y^{n} we parted. T. C. came home, but I went to T. W.'s, spent 2d., rambled and talkt. Then I gave C. S. and W. A. either 1d. worth of ale, then I was talking with the watch, comes 4 excisemen by and we quarrelled, the 4 and I; then they run me down and took to deputy's, and so I came home to bed. 2nd. I got up ill knocked and black and blue. I shaved Mr. Heawood at Mr. Taylor's. He went to Bristol and London. Then I shaved Jno. Rigby, of London. Then I went to T. W.'s and got on ramble again, and with him [and nine others] I spent 9s. 6d. and rambled till 5 at night in the Millgate, &c., till I was dateless and tired, and then I came home at last. 3rd. I was extream ill. 4th also. 5th. Worst of all. I curled 3 wigs this week. 6th. Mist both pub. and priv. prayer this week one 8, the other 6 times. 7th. This was Black Sunday with me: I stayed at home all day and night reflecting on my past life, &c. 8th. I bless God I'm got into my rules again, and am got very hearty again. Remarkable

for me bringing R. Morton *The Office of Executors* to Marsden's, where I found him and T. C. and another, so I must drink with them. 9th. Worked hard; shaved Mr. Latham last time, gave me 24d. 10th. Mended Mr. T. B.'s wig, and finished E. G.'s little wig, and shaved Sqr. Jam: Wood for 6d. 11th. For selling Ann Hind a wig for 4s., and remarkable for my wife and I making a bargain: she's to refrain from washing clothes [? taking in washing to make up for what he spent in drinking], and I'm to refrain from drinking to excess, till Jan. 1, and we have shaked hands, and kissed upon a ratification of the same. This night I began of "Dunkirk distemper" so called; it took [me] with a maziness in the head and extreme pain in the back. Wrote [? wrought] till 12th. I was ill all day; finished Mr. Maxwell's wig: went to bed ill at 7 at night and swat hard. 14th. My wife was very ill; I stayed from church both ends to attend on her. Read over Sherlock *On Judgment*. 15th. Mr. Jo: Wood has paid me in full this day for wigs, and given me 7s. to mend the bargain. 16th. Shaved Mr. Ja. Wood at Mr. Jones's in Fennel Street, and for going down for a caul T. W.'s spent 2d. with him and T. G., W. C. I drank 3 gills and was sadly disordered with it, but I worked it out. 18th. At five in the morning I was ill; got up, and with some mint water I vomited sore; gave A. a pint of wormwood. 20th. This day being market and Accar's [Acres'] Fair and all, I wish good business. 21st. Went to church both ends of the day. Heard Dr. Aynscough on hearing Moses and the prophets, and Dr. Harper "Lest Satan get an advantage over us." Went to see 2 friends at night. 22nd. Bought 4 combs 11d. J. T. and self paid Mrs. Margaret Brown, widow, in Hardwick, 3s. 6d. in full for books at Parson Birch's house. Thus I bless God I have kept this fair soberly. 23rd. Spent 2d. for head shaving [a necessary operation for a wig-wearer]. Was at T. W.'s for hair. Bought J. K.'s own for 4s., and paid him. Received the *Mercury* for Aug. of J. W. [Whitworth], read most on't to-night.

Resolv'd that drunkenness I will refrain
Since it hath got me such a name:

Found out the design of honour and majesty
Against my body. I'll disappoint 'em.
Through God's assistance, I'll make resistance
And always flee, all such designing company.

30th. Bought and paid Mrs. Bruckshaw for a truckle bed 4s. 3½d. This night 'Becca Berry's removed. Taken her room myself to let for lodgings; removed the seiling bed which has stood 9¾ years in little chamber, and pleased lodgers and ourselves.

O God that I may remember
That I've both displeased and pleased thee this September;
And give grace this October
To [me to] keep sober.

Oct. 1st. Sold J. Sutton 4 own hair 15s. 3rd. I was sent for to look [at] the milk measures. 4th. I hope my dose of malt physick will do me good for Dunkirk [distemper]. I hear some has it twice over, and mine is very like it. 5th. I heard Dr. Ainscough all day. 6th. Saw Parson Harper and Cousin Heawood was at court. 12th. I was at church both ends o'th' day; heard Mr. Bolton and a man from Nantwich. I saw all 3 friends this night at John Barlow's. I finished Comber's 4 vols. this day and began of his *Offices*. 'Tis now a sickly time amongst us. 13th. Bought Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*, in 2 parts, 2s. 10d. I'm to read the *Complete Geographer* one week, pd. My daughter Esther has had a suffering night; Mr. Faukner thinks it be small pox. She had an outward convulsive fit about 11 o'clock. 14th. I've a very foul cough and hoarseness on myself: scanned a little of the geography to-night and carried Esther. 15th. Done more geography; carried Esther. 16th. Esther a bad night. 17th. Tented Esther most al day; w[e]aved out A. T.'s wig 8 o'clock, then read geography till 10; like Esther, an indifferent night. 18th. Finished A. Thyer's wig and brought it home this morning to himself. Esther but ill; bought Stoughton's bottle of Elixir 12s., paid J. W. for it to-night. 19th. I went both ends to church; heard the little Nantwich man and Mr. Ainscough. Brought for M. H. my *Expo. Ch. Catech.* She says she will have 2 vols. on me, — *Esop*

and *Lady's New Year's Gift* at 12d. I wish she stuck to her word. 20th. As my daughter is but ill, the Lord work his will on her. This day being much set on books, I went to Edw. Ashworth's, and bought 6 books at 10s. 4d., paid 2s. 10d. in part. We had but a bad night. I was very thoughtful, lay much awake and coughing. 21st. This night I sold . . . . . *magnum parvo*, and blank *Arithmetic* for 2s. ready money. 22nd. Work and reading. 23rd. Fetched to Parson Whitworth, spent 2d., good company. 24th. Sold Parson W. a new wig for 10s., ready money. Spent 2d. more with him. His bro: John chozen ale taster, and for mist perfection of [my not having perfected] J. D.'s wig set me on fretting, having my head shaved. 26th. I heard Mr. Harper on Satan's devices against the church, and Mr. Ainscough on "So let him eat that bread," &c. Saw 2 friends, swapt with M. H. books. Read Newcome's *Funeral* [*Sermon*] over at twice. Sold it R. G. 2d. 27th. Sold Whaly my *Gordon*, and swapt with him books. Read the *Mercury* for Sept. last 1d., and 4d. for the *Geography* in folio, to Mr. Whitworth in full. 30th. Bought Parson Whitaker a couple of new razors, paid 4s. for them. 31st. I finished my bob wig.

Nov. 1st. Lent Saml. Okes £12 on note. 2nd. Went to church and heard Dr. Harper on "Not by water only," &c. Ill all night and morning. 3rd. I took last dose of powder saffron and ginger and turmerick. Received S. O.'s note for £13 4s. [24s. for interest]. Bought 18 books for 5s. 3d. 4th. I had a trial of Whitworth on this parcel; we did not agree for any; he is all for interest, buy cheap and sell dear. Went to bed, but my wife scolding and upbraided me with drunkenness; houghting [breathing hard] and coughing and would not be easy, so I got up and read a sermon of Norris, pertinent to my case; then I laid me down and slept on couch chair 3 hours, and then I went to bed, and she was quiet to me, but ill, &c. 5th. I heard Dr. Wroe [the "silver-tongued"] preach on "O my soul, come not thou," &c. Read some of Norris at night. 6th. The fair in Salford. Saw Martha sweetheart William; he and Mr. Wood treated me for fairings.

11th. Remarkable for being 2 days and not cutting hair or shaving in my public shop, and for walking to Knott Mill to Rob. Morton's. He has sent home to-night the *Office of Executors*. Wife's ill; wants but one month of her time. 12th. Grace Hulme has paid me in full this day £5 10s. Got a new note of Edw. Knowles for £5 13s. to-night. 13th. I received Chas. Beswick's note for £6 12s. this day. My wife ill, so I've stayed at home each night this week. She had thought to labour'd to-night. 14th. Dr. Ainscough and Whitworth meeting here; ending Dr. Comber *On the Offices* to-night, and going on with him *On Liturgies*. Read Bishop Beveridge *On Education;* begun his *Knowledge of God* to-night. 16th. Ended *St. Matthew's Gospel* in Burkitt to-night, and saw 2 friends. Read a sermon in Norris. I have sad fits of coughing night and morning. 17th. Sold *Luther* to Par: Worsley for 12d., and I would sorted 6d., but I took what he bid first word: there is luck in leisure. I carry home Norris *On Practical Atheism*. 18th. Swapt with Moss. I've got abundance of variety now of pamphlets. 19th. Whitworth refused [to] club last night, so I came home. 20th. [Rambling again]. 21st. Ill, out of order, cannot work, but I'll not ramble: sorry for what's done; head aches, faculties disordered and out of tune just now. Stayed at home to-night. Wife ill. 22nd. My wife made all her markets to her mind. 23rd. At 3 in the morning she brought forth a daughter, Sarah. I went none to church. Sent M. H. her 3 pamphlets. I was ill out of tune for want of sleep; studied none. Talked with mother about my own father's end, dropsy, scurvy, and asthma. 24th. John Dickenson not come with Horneck's *Great Law*, according to bargain, paid him 7d. in hand, and I have Quarles' *Boanerges and Barnabas* in part. Sold *Anatomy* in Latin to-day. Sent Dr. Ranour his 2 books by his scholar, that he bought on me, *Poole* and *London Divines*, at 12d. both. J. Brk brought home *Norris on Humility*; lent him 7 .... *British Pratle*. *A Emblem* in *Ralph of Covetousness*. 25th. Wife very ill. She got up, fainted, and had an ague fit; we gave her a dose of brandy, which she in her agony took, and said it did not

warm her at all; then we laid on abundance of clothing besides the usual bedding for an hour; then [she] altered and turned to the extreme heat, and could not sleep. "O (says she) you have killed me out and out with this brandy." In all but 1½d. worth, and port, mixed with mint water. 26th. About 6 in the morning she began to sleep, and she suckled the child first time, but is full of pain and weakness. Wife much better; sat up 4 hours to-night. 27th. Read Oct. *Mercury* and Nov. 2nd vol. out. 28th. Read and finished Comber *On Liturgies*. Reading Norris *On Humility*. Wife mends finely; child had a bad night. 29th. I've both shops to tent now; all by plunges; I had 4 [customers] at once and 3 went away. Swapt Comber *On Church Liturgies* with Jno. Dickenson for Roberts *On Bible* in folio, 12d. to boot. Jno. Dickenson in Millgate brought to-day Horneck's *Great Law*, so he owes nothing. 30th. Delivered to Mr. Dickenson's man 3 books and a cap. I've no more of his. I was not at church forenoon, and in after: my 6th daughter, Sarah, was baptized at Christ College by Dr. Harper. Heard Mr. Dowson preach on "Rejoice in the Lord alway," &c. This [day] my sister Berry was delivered of a daughter, and I was disappointed of my gossips; got 2 stand by proxy, put them to no charge extraordinary. Wife reasonable. I ended Nov. with trouble, but began Dec. with worse; for my wife did so fondle on me as never was, and was afraid of me dying.

Dec. 1st. She was cant [mending]. 2nd. But indifferent. 3rd. In the morning at 5 she was struck with a grievous pain in her thigh and knee, which at 7 at night struck into her body, and so into a fever. 4th. Dr. Yarborough began with her. Child went to nurse to Cockpit Hill. 5th. Her suck went away. 6th. Market day. 7th. Sunday, I stayed at home with her, and very ill she was, and waked [watched] with, every night, with one or two women. 8th, 9th, 10th, as so. 11th. Some hopes again. I sold Dr. Worsley *London Cases* 8s. 5d., and Mr. Lodge *Grotius* 18d. I've got *Bartas* in folio, 1 *Poole*, 2 *Quarles*. Sold Whitworth *Norris on Humility* 3s. 12th. I have been in a very *midered* condition thus far. I paid

Edw. Ashworth in full for my note 7s. 6d., and for books bought of him to this day. 13th. Bought 100 lb. cheese, trust, 6s. 5d. Wife grows worse again: the Lord fit her for her exit. 14th. Went none to church to-day, but waited on her; she weakens fast. 15th. I discoursed her about her burial before sister Martha. 16th. She says that she will be buried at the meeting-place near where she sat, and Mr. Birch must preach for her. So I promised she shall, except she recant. She continues very weak, but sensible. This night she slept none. She weakens fast, drinks much. 17th. This day had a fit about half-past 10 morning, and Parson Birch visited twice. Given him orders to preach, before her face. Lord sanctify this affliction to me, &c. I believe she has the life of religion in her. She acts like a Christian through her sickness, and I believe it will be well with her in the other world. My wife lay a-dying from 11 this day (17th) till 9 o'clock on the 18th in the morn; then she died in my arms, on pillows. Relations most by. She went suddenly, and was sensible till a quarter of an hour before she died. I have given her work-day clothes to mother Boardman and Betty Cook, our servant now. Relations thinks best to bury her at meeting-place in Plungeon Field [Cross Street Chapel], so I will, according to her mind. I'm making me a black shute on [of] her black mantue and petticoat I bought her on Edwards; and if God gives life and health I will wear y^{m} for her sake. 19th. This day, about half-past 4 at night, my wife Sarah was carried to the meeting-place in Plungeon Field, to be buried, and Parson Birch preached on this — "Be ye also ready," &c. Then we came home and had all the wakers and acquaintance that I could get to supper, and treated y^{m} handsomely, but was very ill myself; children wept sore, and my condition is very melancholy. I gave her bible to sister Martha and her white gloves to Mary, her mother, and Betty her worst clothes, and I have done and will do, if I live, all her mind. 20th. I had a very midering day. 21st. Sunday. Very ill in forenoon; I went to church in afternoon; heard Mr. Copley on "Rejoice in the Lord always," &c.; but in my circumstances it did not relish very well to nature. 22nd. Ill out of

order. Abram promised to get me a housekeeper of A. Moore, so I went with him to Salford, and him and I and Coz. Spavin was 3 hours at end of chapel, but at last she came. The 1st sight we was very merry; cost 2s. on 5 or 6 persons. 23rd. Very busy; paid Mr. Birch 10s. for preaching wife's funeral. 24th. Christmas Eve. Paid Mrs. Smith for my mourning clothes 11s. in full. 25th. Had my [infant daughter] Sarah and nurse to dinner; and mother Boardman gave Mary Ashton and nurse Cather: a pair of gloves of wife's for memorial. Paid Jam: Polit 12d. for last stokins. E. Cook, he's gone to Yorkshire. Heard no sermon to-day, for business and trouble. Then I drest at noon; then I saw Coz. Spavin with discouragement about Ann. Then I went to prayers Old Church at night. Then to father Bancroft's to supper. Then who should come but Ann. She spent 2d. with me. Then I sent for y^e^ Jolly Hart, could not find him, but he came at last. We was merry 4 hours. Agreed for her to come to be my housekeeper. Much eased in mind. 26th. Prince gone. Squabble at Gold: Goose for Mrs. K.'s breaking her mind to me and my rudeness to she. Midnight to try tempers. I was in drink and ramble, yet came stanch home. 27th. Ill out of order. I have paid in full al my books to Mrs. Brown by her steward Jo: Dickenson this night 5s. 28th. Went to church both ends; heard Dr. Harper and Dr. Ainscough 2 annual sermons; then saw friends, J. Brk. M. H. 30th. Still in a midered condition. I had a ramble, &c. I visit Bro: &c., Millgate, lodged 2 strangers night. 31st. Going at quarter past 7 to Calf's Head Club, and ended the year with drunkenness and quarrelling with father and brother Bancroft, &c., treating mother with a quart June wine, about 10; also had talk about Anna's education and bringing up and portion. I very ill.

A.D. 1712-13.

Jan. 1. I entered on this year with bad health, a troubled mind and scant of money, yet I gave New Year's gifts two, and paid off quarterage for Sarah, mother, and Dr. Moss in full; for

books, sold *Judge Hale* for M. H., 3s. 2d. 2nd. Still very ill, got coffee or anything to do me good. I'm in a bad condition of body, sleeps ill, eats little or nought; drink still does me a mischief. Now I'm drawing into rules again. 3rd. This morning very ill; to Gorton and Hardy [Ardwick] Green. 4th. Heard Dr. Harper on the sin that doth so easily beset us; then had such exercise as I have not had this many years of Sunday. 5th. I have not yet read any of Bishop Taylor this month. Heard this day first of Jno. Barlow's sickness; been ill one week; I'm afraid of his life; he is sore altered. I bargained with Phœbe to-day to come. 6th. Saw J. Barlow this morning; rather better; could not sleep at night, nobody at home but self, children and Betty at Gorton. I have taken horse-spice morning and night since Monday last; I find ease by it. 7th. The prince came, and Ann Jackson I fetcht. Saw J. Barlow, better. 8th. Got half a load of wheat Clark, paid him, was treated at his father's, was merry with them, but coughed much. 9th. This morning I've had a severe bout of vomiting and purging; but still keep to physic of horse-spice. 11th. This day I was not at church; I took a vomit of Dr. Faukner, worked very well. I saw J. Barlow, he's better again. 13th. Finished Christmas in Abram's room till 12 at night. 14th. Ill this morning; no servant yet but Betty. 15th. This day I [was] warned to Salford Court Jury with neighbours, in this street, &c., one o'clock. 18th. I went to church both ends of the day and heard one of the best sermons by Dr. Copley that ever I heard, on "The end of all things is at hand," &c. 19th. Went about a housekeeper to Mee's and Crowder's and Coz. Throp's; there I had a lecture for my debauchery y^e^ month past, and instead of counsel, discouragement in my condition. 20th. This day T. Brn came at 2 o'clock about Martha's being light, &c. We made inquiry at Pigeon's, found her laddishly inclined, &c. Then went to Merry Boys; saw Alice, and so then I talked over mother Bancroft about Anna. She seemed inclined to business, and said father was also; I hope it will do in time. 21st. I go to T. Brn's, learn his second thoughts, he approves, so went

and finished that matter with Alice; she'll come at command. 23rd. Betty Cook went; Alice Hardman came. 24th. Paul's Conversion, and I had thoughts to begin my reformation, but wanted resolution. Heard Dr. Harper on God's love and Mr. Ainscough on "He that walketh upright," &c. 27th. I heard Dr. Wroe's advice about marriage; ..... must have 3 wifes. 29th. Paid Dr. Yarborough in full 20s. his advice for cough, Natural Balsam or [? of] Peru taken in fine sugar morning and night; then I went with Dr. Wroe for 2 hours; then to Pack Horse; then to ramble like a fool, &c. So I brought myself to sorrow, spent 3s., and almost killed myself. 30th. Went none to church, but drank all day. Thus I ended the month of Jan. with loss, grief, shame, and pain.

Feb. 1st. This day I have again missed the sacrament. This is Sexagesima Sunday; I heard Dr. Bolton forenoon, on "Enquire for the good old way." 8th. Heard Dr. Ashton preach on "That ye may be sincere." 10th. Rambled all day. 11th. Ill out of order with drinking. 13th. Rambled with Barlow, &c. 14th. Heard Dr. Wroe on "Abstain from all appearance of evil;" then Mr. Copley on watchfulness; and 3rd sermon on sobriety, watchfulness, and prayer. 16th. Fell on drinking all day. 17th. Drank at several places, Goose, Horse and Dog. 18th. I was ill in forenoon; but got to church and heard Dr. Bolton on my Saviour's temptation. 22nd. I heard Dr. Harper on "The axe is to the root," &c. Then I saw friends at J. Barlow's, and M. H. told me things concerning Ellen Collg: which I will not particularize here.

March 1st. I mist my prayer at 6, but I was at church at both ends, and also stayed sacrament, and received of Drs. Ashton and Ainscough very comfortably, and heard Dr. Bolton preach on "In thy presence is fulness," &c. 5th. This a hard morning for wormwood and scurvy. Shaved 3 heads, dressed 9 wigs, and worked close. All persuades me not to meddle with widow and children; but a batchelor [? maiden] with some money, &c. 8th. I heard Dr. Harper preach on the Queen's inauguration or accession this day; and he praised her hard. Afternoon, Dr. Ainscough on

mortification. I am now beginning to be uneasy with myself, and begin to think of women again. An experimental trial of M. H.'s [Mary Hill's] own acting betwixt her and her children and her sweetheart. 13th. Bought this day of the Scotchman £15 10s. worth of hair on credit, upon necessity to put on business if I can. I've seen Ellen at Coll: to-night, kept her Lent company about 1½ hour; then saw another soft soul, as I think, in Salford. 15th. Heard 3 sermons to-day, one by Dr. Harper and 2 by Dr. Copley. This night J. Brk., J. Brlw, and I was at M. H.'s, and saw her beat her daughter Esther about courtship, and talk to her again. 22nd. Heard Parson As[h]ton on purity of heart. 28th. To Robotham's with parson and Swinton, &c. 29th. To Prestwich afternoon; did not see Ellen. 30th. I heard Dr. Ashton on the fruits of repentance. 31st. This day I heard that coz. Berry Benjamin was dead, so at night I went to visit y^{m}, and saw this day my pretty Sarah the last time, and I was fetched out of bed to see her dead at 6 in the morn.

1713, April 1st. My daughter died this morning about 6, and a great surprise it was to me. This is now 7 times that devouring death hath visited my dwelling; it has taken 2 dear wives and 5 sweet infants from me, and I, for my part, am likely to be next. 2nd. This day I buried my daughter Sarah at church. 5th. Heard Mr. Warden on the Resurrection, and likewise Dr. Ainscough. 12th. Heard Dr. Ashton on "Marriage is honourable," in 2 sermons. 13th. Went to Coll: master's, saw Ellen. 19th. Went to church, heard Dr. Ainscough: "He that walketh upright," &c. Received all daughter Sarah's things on [of] nurse. 21st. Went to see Ellen [at] Coll: and M. Hill, and we had hard trials. 22nd. She was gone to burying of 'torney Tonge, and so I went to M. H.'s. Sat 2 hours. I lent her a book on marriage, and the next thing I heard of her she was asked [marriage banns are called "askings"]. 23rd, 24th. I was about Betty Whitaker, at Thomas's; it won't do. 25th. Joseph Bancroft died to-day. 26th. This day ends my 34th year, the funeral of brother Joseph. Dr. Ainscough preached his sermon on "Lord so teach us," &c. I also heard

Dr. Harper 2 sermons on "The sin that does so easily beset us." 27th. This day thought to have drunk no ale, but got to Hardy [Ardwick] Green and bowled 11 games; so I drank about 3 gills in all, and spent 7d. of losses, and visit of business to Martha about shop. Visited M. Hill in her lost condition, but she's resolved to go forwards; so God bless her. 30th. E. O.'s [Okes] wife dunned me for £3 10s. This evening I went to Ellen for 1½ hour; she's sharp, has wit enough, if she be but good humoured.

May 1st. This day I worked close, alone. 3rd. I heard 3 sermons, 2 at Old Church, one [at] New; 1st by Dr. Bolton, another by Bishop Blackley, another by Dr. Band. At night I went E. Nickil's to supper. 4th. Mary Hill was married to Jno. Assell, and I spent 4d. with them. This day I indited a letter to E. S., but I know not what to do about it. 5th. Read mother the letter to E. S. She advises me to deliver it to her. 7th. Worked close till night; then Rob. Jackson took me to the Green to his house, where I had like to have been drowned, but how or where I know not; but the first place I found myself in that I was sensible was J. D.'s in Har Hardick [Higher Ardwick], so I came back over the Green and called at 3 houses. Drank 3d. in wormwood water at Bull's Head. 10th. Heard Dr. Ashton on the power of the keys. I was in Millgate with 3 friends, and a new one, John Assell. I was 3 hours in all with Ellen to-day, and she saw the children in the street. She seems to be touched a little now; I'll try her some after on matters. 11th. I was twixt 9 and 11 with Ellen at Coll: &c. 12th. This day peace [peace of Utrecht] proclaimed at the Cross before sheriff and his men and burgesses and soldiers, who gave 3 volleys of shot, and abundance of gentlemen. I treated father and mother, and sister Frances and Dr. Reford and Ellen. Brok skin church wall, [about] 11 or 12. 13th. Yesterday was buried Dr. Yarborough at New Church, Dr. Band [Bann] preached his funeral sermon. He's the first that ever was buried there. Ellen Ill: was at Mr. Coll: ho: [master of the College house], lent Ellen a book about marriage. 14th. At 9 went to Coll: met with Daniel the rival. Stayed

with them till 11, had a hurry with Alice. 15th. I went to Ellen till 9, and shaved Mrs. head. 17th. Dreamed of my dear's actions towards me. Heard Dr. Wroe on the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and Dr. Copley on Baptism. Then I read Bishop Taylor on *Death* and ended *Burkit*; saw friends at J. Barlow's and Ellen at Mrs. house, likt' a faln into water down the pale, but we escaped. 21st. I talked Ellen soundly over, and I find I may if I will do that thing, marry; fortune's but low, £20 or £30 at most. 24th. Being Whitsunday I heard Dr. Wroe and Dr. Copley and stayed sacrament. Ellen was godmother to Valentine's daughter Esther. Seen friends. Broke mind to J. Barlow; he persuades me to marry her quickly, but I can't fix self. I'm in a great strait whether to marry or not. 25th. I told her I'd come on this night towards 9; she said she'd not be out of the way. Then so I'll put this petition in my prayers, that if it be God's will we must go together for good, things will all conspire thereto; if not, she will be out of the way, and Providence hath not determined us together. I found her not out of the way, but she sent me words of desire to come thither, for all was clear. I did so, and stayed till 12 past, and abundance of conference we had about things. I know she loves [me] better than elsewhere, but yet reports are false; fortune low in cash, but I believe would be good in proof, only I must confess she [is] a manager, but is manag'd (?). She wants to be satisfied. I won't do it yet, I try her patience a little further. 26th. At night fell out with Ellen in my drink. 28th. Parted with Ellen at Coll. I'll go to Jno. Taylor about Agnes, &c., did so; fell on drinking with him. 31st. This day I heard Dr. Lee 2 sermons.

June 1st. Anxious thoughts about Ellen and marriage and disorders. 3rd. I paid her a visit at night, and though I had rude usage of her hands, I went home much satisfied with what befel me [dismissal]. 8th and 9th. I had a ramble, saw Ann, and clipt her a bit at Merchant Bancroft's. 14th. Stayed at home forenoon; heard Bishop of Man in St. Ann's afternoon on peace of conscience. 15th. Went to Ann with Dr. R. Spent on her and

him 12d. She's of a good temper, if portion fit, &c. 19th. I am busied about Anna's removal to father Bancroft's. We are now upon conclusion, I must give her £20 for her portion, and he will put it forth for her to be improved till she come of age; so I'm advised to agree, if he'll give her bond for the money, signed by him and Timothy. On Monday I was at Ann; she says I'm sharp courtier [I court her too rapidly], and she does not like on't, but I believe she does. She's very loving and pleasant company, quiet and easy of temper, and gets her love whom ever she lives with. 20th. This day sold John Openshaw my wig off my head for 9s. 6d. ready money. 21st. Heard Dr. Harper and Dr. Ainscough. 23rd. Discoursed father Bancroft about Anna. 24th. I delivered her to him with Mr. Dutton's bond of £35 for her security of £20, and the interest thereof from to-day. Then I'm to clothe [her] new next week, and so I've done with her for their lives. 25th. She likes wery well; I'm beginning to buy for her already. Went to see Ann, but in bed. 26th. Saw Ann to-night, she's concerned for to do well in the world; a deal of serious discourse we had about matters. I'll encourage her to seek and try how her friends stand affected for marriage soon. 28th. Abram came to town, so I broke Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, 1st, with drinking. I've wickedly ended June and begun July madly.

July 1st. I find 'tis mad moon with me. 3rd. Dr. Lee preached last Sunday both ends, on catechising and poverty of spirit. Saw Ann to-night; I think it will do at last. I'm sure she loves. I wish I was settled. 5th. Heard Dr. Harper on "Boast not thyself," &c., and Dr. Ainscough on "How shall we escape?" &c. Saw friends, and had Ann amongst them at John Assell's. They like on't well. If I can but manage things to my own mind to turn her; which that I do, if I marry her, I've laid a quart of wine with Mary Assell, to be paid or received 12 months after marriage, except it be paid sooner on generous declarations and actions. [It would seem she was a non-conformist, and he sought to induce her to conform.] 7th. Got up at 4 and stayed up with Ann till

one; treated her and friends. I have her upon *hallches* [? fastenings] about conforming. I'm satisfied she loves well on the time. Now I'll follow close with my matters and finish soon. This day was the Thanksgiving for Peace, and Dr. Wroe preached on "God is not the author of confusion," &c. This day remarkable for fine garlands, one troop of horsemen, 2 cos. of grenadiers, one of edged hats, one of dragoons, and all the burgesses with halberds, the sheriff. The cundith [conduit] run wine, with all sorts of music, for joy and rejoicing and huzzas and illuminations at night in the windows. I was with Anna and mother Bancroft at night. 10th. I was up with Ann all night. We had hard trials about conforming; but I think all is over now. 12th. Heard Dr. Ashton both ends on the government of the tongue, and corrupt communications. Saw my friend and friends at J. Barlow's. She's got leave to go abroad. 14th. Ann's gone at 8 this morn; pray God send her a good journey and safe return. 19th. Heard Dr. Copley 2 sermons to-day on the Sower, and on integrity and uprightness. 23rd. Had the expected resolution with Ann; did bottom matters; I find love, some cash, but no boasting on it; but, for want of [her] conformity to Church of England, we differ; and so it continues, for I'll try her temper. There's luck in leisure. I own I love; but let God work his will about her. 24th. We made thro' [thorough] night for the last. She says it must be what it will. I trow not. Saw her again at night till 11; hard trials. 26th. Heard Dr. Cox on "Resist the devil." 28th. With Ann till six in the morning. [The old Lancashire custom in courting allowed the parties to sit or keep company together all night without any scandal.] 29th. Saw Ann a little; I believe it will do; I'm Mr. of her affections and power and might in her; she submits, and talks fine and complying. 30th. This day was married William Crompton and sister Martha Boardman, of Gorton. I paid £10 to Edw. Knowles for a bond: this day I made up marriage with Ann Horrocks; — all remarkable. 31st. At night I put myself in the books to be asked, with Clericus Davis, Dr. Redford with me, told Mrs. on't; stayed till 12 past; hard trials about love and conformity,

and service and trouble, childbirth, and conveniences and inconveniences; — and thus I end July.

Aug. 1st. I'm in a midered condition. 2nd. I fled to St. Ann's; in forenoon I heard Dr. Leaster there, and young Melin in afternoon at Old Church. 3rd. I bought furniture; made thro' [thorough] night with Ann. 6th. Had hard luck; my head brok with tongs about 2 in the morning by J. B. [Bancroft] merchant, in his own house. 9th. I was very ill; but afternoon went to Prestwich bt: [beout, or without] Ann after waiting; she at Bank form and brow. Dr. Redford went, J. Barlow and wife, J. Astell and wife; we was very merry and might have been merrier, but for Ann's, &c. 11th. I've this sorrow, that Ann had taken us out [? of the banns] without any fault or knowledge of mine. To find the truth thereof cost me 5d. on her, &c.; the reason of it conformity, &c., but time will bring all things to light. 12th. I'm laughed at about it. I had free access to her heart though not to her lips. We set a time to meet next day at 5 afternoon. 13th. We was together 2½ hours walk and company, our conference was these matters about conformity and sobriety, and love and hatred, the reasonableness of a man's wife being the same opinion [with him], and of fickleness of mind and wandering fancy, as also of firmness and stability of mind and affection, and their different effects; which at last, at Gold Goos [the Golden Goose], made her show some tenderness of heart from the eyes. So I laid forth 3 propositions to her, and so parted. My mother saw Ann and liked her person very well. 16th. Heard Dr. Ainscough of consideration, and after sermon he told me plain he would not marry me, because I was a madman in drink, and that the woman run her ruin in marrying me. By God's help I will observe these rules: 1st, not to drink any strong drink fasting in a morning; 2nd, not above a pint at a sitting of business; 3rd, as little as possible in public-houses; 4th, but keep home with the greatest diligence. Heard Dr. Band at St. Ann's 2 sermons, one on the sacrament, the other on sincerity of intention. 19th. Saw Ann, was with her 5 hours; we concluded to be married in morning.

20th. But it's mist. The reason was, that she could not get time to-day. 21st. Was with [Ann] late to-night, and we are to be at church at 8 in the morning: was so. 22nd. Dr. John Harper married me and my 3rd wife Ann, and Mr. Bancroft was father. This makes 2 wives given by Joseph Bancroft. I worked all day till 9 at night; then I fetched my wife from her Mr. and father Bancroft's; came home about half-past 11. Dr. Redford got her to bed, and me alone; gave a bride's posset amongst the company in the house. 23rd. We went to Old Church forenoon, and dinner to her father Bancroft's at noon; then to Prestwich in afternoon; so to Dr.'s father's at night; was very merry, came home at 11 night. Heard this day Dr. Lee, and Dr. Scholes, curate of Prestwich; 2 good sermons for reformation. 25th. Mr. Clayton took leave of this town and I set out of my journey for Hallsay [Hallsall] behind Ormskirk and Skelmersdale and Rainford. Lodged this night in Ince at Coz. Horack's house. 26th. Lay at Hallsay at Bro: Tho: Georgson's. Glover came to Ormschurch. There is a parcel of poor barbers, &c. 27th. Back: Saw all acquaintances there, so to Rainford to Dr. Tetlow's, then to Skelmersdale to uncle Moses, Stirrup Brook; got a sad fall of backbone, was ill. In morning we called at brother Will: Moses, but did not see him; they was gone to Ormschurch fair. Then we came to another relation's and sent for mother Horrocks, and others came by accident, so we saw all but brother Will. Then we came to Wigan by 11 or before. Went to prayers there. Eat a pasty and sent for Will: Farborough and sold him all my hair; then we called Shermon Hulm's (?) and so came home at 7 at night. 30th. Was driven too late for church. Read Hopkinson's *Salvation Working;* afternoon heard Dr. Bolton [on] the resurrection. 31st. Brother Crosley came to be shaved unknown, but I was aware of him, though I had not seen him of 8 years; then at last he confest who he was. Thus I ended this month with settlement and marriage, amongst strangers, a new wife, a new-found brother, and a new acquaintance; and I pray God I may be a new husband and a new friend and a sober man ever.

Sep. 1st. Laid out 2 fine natural wigs to weave. 6th. Heard Dr. Ashton and Dr. Seddon, one at Old [Church] the other at St. Ann's, with wife, bro: &c. 13th. I was at Gorton, at mother Boardman's, to dinner, wife, and bro: children. We heard Dr. Melin, jun., on anger, the causes, effects, and cure. 20th. I heard Dr. Hall, Christ Church, forenoon, on the general judgment; then went to St. Ann's, heard Dr. Leaster on the creation of man. 27th. I heard Dr. Bolton on meekness, both ends.

Oct. 1st. Followed business. 4th. Heard Drs. Harper and Ainscough, 2 excellent sermons, 1st on sacraments, 2nd on "Almost a Christian." 11th. I heard Drs. Wroe and Harper, 1st on "The righteous is more excellent," &c., and 2nd "Be ye followers of God," &c. 18th. Heard Drs. Harper and Ainscough on "Rejoice, O young man," and "Study to be quiet," &c. 23rd. Bless God I've not spent 1d. in aleho. this 9 days. I mist going to Court [leet] to swear [as] dog-muzzler, for which I'm fined, they say; but I can't help it. 25th. Heard Dr. Bolton on "Swear not at all," and on "Despise you the Church of God." 26th. I was at burial of Dr. Whitaker's daughter. 31st. I finished this month of October with being sober, constant in duties, public and private, studious, and contented.

Nov. 1st. This day I, my wife, and bro: Crossley all communicated together at C. C. C. [Christ's College Church], the first time of them 2, and we heard Dr. Ashton on All Saints, it being the day. 5th. Very busy to finish long wig for Squire Shocross; 'tis a fine wig. 7th. A poor fair. 8th. Heard Dr. Harper and Dr. Ainscough on God's omniscience and omnipresence, and on "The sin that doth so easily," &c. 15th. We heard Dr. Shaw, 2 sermons on "Oh, that I had wings," &c., and "The wicked are like the troubled sea," &c. 22nd. Heard a stranger 2 sermons on following peace and holiness, and keeping, getting, and exercising a good conscience, &c. 25th, 26th, 27th. For hearing of a religious society at Dr. Seddon's. Heard Mr. Oliver. Read Bishop Tillotson's *Sermon*. Bo't Scott's 2 voll. of *Practical Discourses* for 3s., and *An Account of the Reformation* and societies that promotes

it, cost me 9d. 29th. Heard Dr. Copley on Christ's second advent. 30th. With sobriety and peace I ended this month.

Dec. 1st. I swapt *Spark* for 19 pamphlets and books with J. Brk, and so I'm for turning about to business if I can. 6th. This day my wife and I communicated and heard Dr. Ashton on the King's marriage supper for his son, and Dr. Ainscough on following peace. 13th. I heard Dr. Harper first time after his uncle's death, on "I have glorified thee," &c., and Dr. Ainscough on "That holiness without which no man can see the Lord." 19th. This day twelvemonths I buried my wife Sarah, and I dreamed on her last night. 27th. Heard Dr. Harper and Dr. Ainscough on Christ's nativity; annual sermons. 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th. These nights I spent in auctioning. 31st. I ended this year in sobriety, only I'm ill set for money, very dull business, also much indisposed in body, a great rent and little trade, so that I'm in a great strait what to do.

A.D. 1713-14.

Jan. 1st. Went to Oldfield Lane to Bro: Berrey's to dinner: saw them both drunk. 3rd. I and wife stayed communion, and heard Dr. Copley both ends, on "Do this in remembrance of me," and on Heb. ix. 26. Read Dr. Sacheverel's *Sermon* before the clergy at Paul's. Now I've *Jeremy Taylor* to read any month. 10th. Heard Dr. Wroe forenoon, Dr. Ainscough afternoon. 17th. Heard Dr. Bolton both ends, on "Troubled but not distrest," &c. 24th. I was at church both ends. 25th. The auction began. 29th. Was market-day on Friday here, because Saturday was K. Charles 1st Martyrdom, and kept strictly. 31st. I heard 2 sermons and saw friends.

Feb. 1st to 6th. Busy auction [of books]. 7th. Heard 2 sermons. Wife and I stayed sacrament. 11th. Auction ended. 14th. Heard 2 sermons, parson Leigh and Dr. Bolton. 15th. Drew a catalogue of all my books. 17th. Got some wigs [ready] against Easter to sell. 21st. Was ill, and did not go to church

forenoon; in afternoon very dull; heard Dr. Ashton on Rom. viii., second part of v. 1. 22nd. Busy about law with James Hulme; made nothing out, though Mr. Chadwick did his best in it. 23rd. Tried wife's temper; clean brought her to sub: [jection]. 28th. Heard Dr. Harper 2 sermons about repentance and apostacy.

March 1st to 6th. I've been much out of order, and am, by gravel and puking in morning, together with over-thinking, crosses, losses and disappointments here, — I'm now in a greater strait than ever I was. 8th to 14th. I was about bargains, swaps, books, wigs, watches, &c. 14th. I went to church both ends, but dull. 15th to 17th. Busy about my auction of books. 18th to 20th. Begun and finished clean, 300 books, maps, and pictures at Ashton, and was ill of gravel 21st to 24th.

After this the diarist seems to have visited Stockport and other neighbouring towns, holding auctions of books, with various success. June 1st. This day I ended auction. 2nd. I retailed folios at Rochdale, and rid to Bolton with 7th son Harry; lost my belt and clasp on the road.—July 15th to 19th. Writ my *Disc: of Friendship,* and read it Mr. Throp in Grantham's shop: he was touched with it at last in consequence.— Aug. 3rd. Heard this day of Queen Anne's death: there's great sorrow for her. 4th. This day very studious about houses [he was about "flitting"]: talk about King George. 6th. News of King George's proclamation at London 1st instant: they say here to-day. Heard King George prayed for at St. Ann's Church this day. O God, send us peace. 'Tis report about me being poet against T. G. [? the government]. All things goes to naught with me. I want to see what wife will bring forth; then for motion.— Sept. 9th. About half-past 2 in the morning wife was delivered of a daughter Mary; a very large child. 11th. I was busy marketting for christening. 12th. She was baptised at Old Church by Dr. Ainscough, chaplain. 14th. Bought glasses for breast, and wife cants [mends] finely o' th' time. 18th. Received £41 6s. for Mr. Dutton's bond in full: indeed I never saw so much cash of my own before

at onct. 20th. Dr. Seddon and me agreed that if father Bancroft pleased, we would go partners in trade. He did not approve of it, so about 6 at night I paid him, before Timothy, Anna, and mother, £21 10s. in full to Anna's portion; and so we drunk King George's health, and there was bonfires and ringing for his safe arrival in England, the 18th instant at Greenwich, about 6 at night. On the 29th day of September, I remember, concerning giving Dr. Wroe warning, with consent, for me to go and leave this old house and great rent. God knows the event. [An attempt at rhyme apparently in this last entry].—Oct. 1st. A book given me for sucking Mrs. Wiseman's breast in 1713; the greatest cure I e'er did. 3rd. Saw all old friends this night [at] my house, to see my wife's up-sitting and great child. 18th. Bought 2lb. 5oz. hair for £2 3s. [There are numerous entries of this kind; but generally part of the price is paid in books, or he is to pay so much a week; so that the value is not clearly shown]. 19th and 20th. Now finished the coronation of King George with lying near 2 hours in dungeon by Files, constable of Salford; ill hurt of face, lost handkerchief, and indeed I deserve it all for being drunken: it shall be last time ever. 21st. As I now think, I'll leave off drink. 22nd. Writ on *Thoughts on Imprisonment.*—Nov. 8. N. G. [Gaskill] at me about auction to-day. I told him 5s. a night. 9th. I had orders to act. 10th, 11th. Went on, and had completed but for General Cooper's going mad; he made an High Church storm on us. I bless God for enabling me to perform and govern myself so well as I did, considering that I was so much scoffed and derided and jeered, by the mob and other malicious persons, who offered to baffle me with opprobrious words. Indeed they told of all my faults and more than all, of drunkenness, foolishness, K. G. [? King George], cash &c., and jockeying; and was very abusive, especially G. Cooper; but I pray God to forgive their folly, and I do. 12th. I bought up all the raff, and so finished. 22nd. I'm not yet paid of Mr. Gaskill for auctioneering. I'm for buying Dr. Seddon's books, Henry Hampson's, Dr. Birch's, books abroad, K. G. Perken's books. [There was a Tract "King

George or Perkin" published at this time.] 24th. Mr. Gaskill paid me 15s. for [3 nights'] auctioneering. — Dec. 6th. This day 12 years I was married first time. 11th. Sent box to Liverpool, resolved to try my fortune there, with wigs and hair. 15th. Went to Liverpool afoot, and had a sad time, thro' own folly of failing of temper. 31st. This being last day of month and year, I declare, that I see poverty appear, and for to bear, I prepare. [Another jingling of rhyme.]

A.D. 1714-15.

In Jan. he rambles, drinks, and on the 31st began to reform; kept K. C. 1st martyrdom. Heard during the month Bolton, Copley, 2 Ashtons, Dr. Wroe, Dr. Ainscough. — Feb. 2nd. Sacheverell, the whigs begin to open at him already: he must be arraigned and tried for his zeal and courage for our mother the church, &c. — [At length, from a diary, the vol. becomes a common-place book of wise sayings of divines, sentences showing the vanity of the world, &c. "An account of the memorable sayings of the ancient fathers and reformers." No. 1 being St. Ignatius, 2 Polycarp, 3 Dionysius the Areopagite, 4 Justin Martyr, &c. No. 36 being Martin Luther. Again the diary is resumed July 10th.] Dr. Robert Ashton preached both ends, 1st on self-denial, 2nd on Rom. i. 18. 17th. Dr. Alleign on despising holy things, and Dr. Ashton, jun., on "Swear not at all." — Nov. 1st. I was at Bolton with Jno. Yates or Prince, of whom I bought 2 houses for 3 lives, young and strong, for £10 sterling, I paying for writing. Gave him earnest of the same before his Mr., landlord of the Black Boot, on Windy-bank, Bolton. 5th. Was market, yet observed by church, ringing and bonfires [Guy Faux day]. This night an express came to the Major of dragoons to march on 6th, in morning, being Sunday; which they did, dismal to see, drums beating to horse and arms. 7th. Fair-day. 8th. We had above 1,000 men quartered in town: inhabitants taken up; some fled; others hid themselves; all in amazement. Ex-

press on express to General Wills. 9th. Saw E. Knowls about his loom; says fair £10; sold. 10th. Saw landlord Lomax from Bolton; stick in mind about Prince bargain; gave my service to him. 11th. This day is [are] gone General Wills and his men towards camp, to meet the rebels, who are now at Preston, where they have proclamed J–mes the 3rd, and prayed for him in the church by their own priest, for the minister there would not do it. Webster James saw them by way of spy. I never saw so many fine men and horses in my life at one time as is gone thro' this town upon this occasion. O God, who governest all things, give victory to the righteous, and let iniquity be punished; for sin is an evil to be punished by the judges. Do thou bless and preserve the Church of God, in its liturgy, laws, and liberty, as it now is by law established; unite all its members and make its hill strong, that the gates of hell may not prevail against her; but that she may be catholic, pure, primitive, and apostolic, in all her doctrines and devotions; her children pure in heart, sincere in their words and actions, that they may be loyal to the supreme head and governor of those realms under God, who helps them to right that suffer wrong, who feeds the hungry, hates a false way, but delights in those that are upright in their hearts. 12th. General Wills began battle. 13th. Reports was that the rebels was defeated; bells rung and illuminations ordered; but at night countermanded by the bellman. The fight continued very sharp. All was dull in town, for Cheshire militia and all was amused how things was; but 14th, about 4 o'clock afternoon, Mr. Nealer [Nayler], with others, brought word that all was over; that the rebels fled into the church at Preston, where they was beset round by General Wills' men and threatened to be blown up, if they [did] not surrender themselves prisoners of war; which 500 noblemen and gentlemen did. And that he [? Mr. Naylor] saw Tho: Syddall [the Manchester barber, afterwards hung] stand at Town's End, with a rope about his neck, and that he was to be hanged in Manchester in a few days. And there was hundreds more of the rebels had submitted themselves to the

king. This day ended with ringing of bells, shooting, illuminations, and other matters of loyalty. This night I end my 2nd *Letter to a Friend or Modern Pilgrim*. It was reported at Packhorse that man's [? the Pretender] landed, going to Preston. 22nd. Finished my 3rd *Letter*. 27th. I bought hair for parson Pearson's wig. 28th. Curled it. 29th. Finished it and 4th *Letter to a Friend*. Saw Chas. Hulme: he has grown my size, slick out and out. From confusion and military government good Lord deliver us.—Dec. 1715. Remarkable for being busy in my *Letters to a Friend*, and buying books with W. T. for auctioneering; for journeying to Congleton, Chester, Warrington; for most sobriety, but some rambles.—1716. Especially June, Barber's mad fit. 18th, 19th, 20th. Ill 3 days more, but repent sadly; mist duty and business; wife abroad also. 23rd. Came home; broke knuckles, head, and other parts. 24th. Heard Bishop Gastrill of Chester preach at Old Church, forenoon on Gal. vi. 15, &c.

Here the diary ends abruptly, some of the latter leaves being missing.

For the following information respecting the eccentric diarist we are indebted to Mr. John Owen, of Stretford New Road, to whose meritorious exertions in preserving a record of the old gravestones in the churches of Manchester the public are under great obligation. Edmund Harrold, it appears, had a gravestone on the north side of the Cathedral, but which has since been removed. The inscriptions upon it recorded the burials of his wife Alice (March 24th, 1703), his son Thomas, and three daughters, Ellen, Alice, and Sarah. His own name did not appear on it, but according to the register he was buried June 4th, 1721, and from the same authority we ascertain that he was married, firstly, to Alice Bancroft (16th December, 1702), secondly to Sarah Boardman (January 2nd, 1704, O. S.), and thirdly, to Ann Horrocks (August 22nd, 1713). In the register of baptisms (January 1st,

1705), appears that of Thomas, son of Edmund Harrold, of Market Street Lane, in which thoroughfare, therefore, he must have been settled at that period. When the first Manchester Directory was published in 1772 the name of Harrold was no longer to be found in the list of the inhabitants of Manchester.

The Executed Syddalls, Father and Son.

THE remarkable fact in our local annals that a father and son suffered the extreme penalties of the law, thirty years apart,—the father for leading a mob to destroy the Cross Street Chapel, and for afterwards being in arms in favour of the Pretender in 1715, and the son for joining the army of the Young Pretender in 1745,—has often seemed to us one deserving of record and illustration. Rightly to comprehend the divided state of the national mind, one must go back a century in the history of England, and see how the events of the interval affected and influenced the thoughts, opinions, and views of different classes of the people. To do this fully would fill a volume; and therefore we can only hint at the leading events of that eventful period. After the peril of Roman Catholicism being set up as the state religion, the battle of the Boyne, and the flight, abdication, and exile of James II., "the glorious revolution of 1688" seated William III. on the throne; and the legislature, to guard against the danger of a Popish king, passed (June 1701) the act of settlement, based on resolutions of the House of Commons, one of which was:

> That after King William and the Princess Anne, the crown be limited to the Princess Sophia of Hanover and the heirs of her body, being Protestants.

On the death of William III. Anne succeeded, her reign being one continual struggle between the two powerful factions,—Whig

and Tory,— the former uniting with the dissenters in their efforts to maintain Protestant ascendancy, and to secure the succession as above; the latter, consisting of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, with many avowed and other Roman Catholics, seeking to crush the dissenters, and to secure the crown for the son of the exiled James II. Towards the end of Anne's reign, circumstances occurred to render the Whigs unpopular, and to give the reins of power to the Tories, to whom the Queen naturally leaned. A church clergyman, Dr. Sacheverel, preached two sermons, denouncing the Whig ministry and measures, and raising the cry of "The church in danger." He was impeached; and during his three weeks' trial in Westminster Hall, before the Peers, he was daily escorted to and fro by mobs, crying "The church and Sacheverel;" "Down with the Whigs, and Sacheverel for ever." These mobs attacked a dissenting meeting-house, made a bonfire of the pulpit and pews, and pulled down the houses of some eminent dissenters. Sacheverel was found guilty by sixty-nine to fifty-nine, and sentenced to three years' suspension from preaching, and his sermons were burned by the hangman. He thus became the idol, not only of the populace, but of Tory lords and the High Church party; a Tory ministry, under Oxford and Bolingbroke, succeeded the Whigs; and at the general election of 1713, four boroughs out of every five returned Tory members. The question of succession was hotly debated in speeches and pamphlets, by men whose names are famous,— Steele, Addison, and Halifax being amongst those who advocated Whig principles and the Protestant succession; while, on the other side, Swift and Bolingbroke were the organs of the Tory ministry; and writers were found to urge the hereditary right to the crown of England,— thus seeking to prepare the people for the reception of the Pretender. Such was the divided state of feeling and opinion in England, and still more so in Scotland, where the recent union was resented by many as an act degrading Scotland into a mere province of England,— when the Queen died, in August 1714, and (through the care of the privy council

and the leading Whigs) George I. was called to the throne, to the great rage and disappointment of the Tories and "Jacobites," or partisans of the house of Stuart. The Princess Sophia, to whose direct line the succession was secured by Act of Parliament, was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, elector palatine, and his consort Elizabeth, sole daughter of James I. of England. The Princess Sophia died on the 8th June, 1714, not two months before the death of Queen Anne; and George I., her eldest son, who had then ruled the electorate of Hanover for fourteen years, in his 55th year ascended the British throne. That was by no means a bed of roses, and for some time he wore an uneasy crown. The conflict of principles, as between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, became also a contest of strong party feeling and bitter animosity. The elderly king was a stranger and a foreigner; German in tastes, habits, and language; dull and slow, destitute of any brilliant, intellectual, or popular personal qualities. The Stuarts possessed striking personal attractions, and had the gift of fascinating all within their influence, and winning deep and loyal attachment. With that old English feeling of which we see large traces even yet, large numbers of the people preferred as their monarch the son of an English king to the son of a petty foreign prince. While the one party reviled the other as papists, Jacobites and pretenders, the other called the king a foreign usurper, and his loyal subjects base tools of faction, Whigs and dissenters. In Manchester, as in London, the mobs were strongly Jacobite, and the leaders of the party fomented their passions by acting on their political and religious bias and antipathies, till at length popular clamour became inflamed into riotous action, and a tumultuous mob directed their fury against the only dissenting place of worship in Manchester, the presbyterian chapel, called in derision "St. Plungeon's," and situated in Acres Field,—now Cross Street. This mob, headed by Thomas Syddall, a peruke maker (emulating that in London, which had attacked dissenting meeting-houses), made a furious attack on the chapel and nearly destroyed it. This was in the year 1714; and parliament voted

a sum of £1,500 for the purpose of restoring the building, which had been originally erected in the year 1693. For this destructive riot, Syddall and a number of his followers were apprehended and committed to Lancaster Castle. About this time the Pretender, the Chevalier de St. George (eldest son of James II., and consequently a half-brother of Queen Anne), whose name was James Francis Edward, landed in Scotland and made that rash, premature, and abortive attempt to win the crown by an appeal to civil war, the defeat of which was so signally effected in Lancashire. On the march of the rebels southward, under the command of Foster, as general, with whom were the Earl of Derwentwater and other lords, they passed through Lancaster, and there liberated a number of prisoners in the castle, amongst others Syddall and his followers. He at once enlisted in the Jacobite cause, joined the Pretender's troops; and, after their defeat at Preston, was captured, tried, and with four others named William Harris, Stephen Sagar, Joseph Porter, and John Finch, was removed from the prison of Lancaster to Manchester, where they were all executed in the year 1716, as a warning example to the disaffected of this town and neighbourhood. In compliance with the barbarous custom of the time, the head of Thomas Syddall was fixed on the market cross of Manchester, as that of a rebel and a traitor. There is some discrepancy between the accounts as to this execution. Thirty-four of the rebels, after trial at Liverpool, were executed at various places in Lancashire. From the bill of charges of Thomas Crisp, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1716, we take the following items:

Feb. 6th. Paid for messengers to get guards [from Manchester] to convey five [prisoners] to Manchester. Paid the charge of horses, and men to lead them, on the conveying of five [prisoners] to Manchester, £3 7s. 6d. Feb. 11th. Charge at Manchester, on executing Syddall, &c., £8 10s.; besides the under-sheriffs.

But in what purports to be a summary of the times and places at which the insurgents who suffered in Lancashire were executed

(Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iv. 326), we find under date of February 11th, 1716, the following entry:

Tho. Sudell [? Syddall], Will. Harris, Stephen Sagar, Jos. Porter, hanged at *Wigan;* and Jno. Finch, hanged at Manchester.

If this be correct, it would seem that Syddall was executed, not at Manchester, but at Wigan; but we believe this account to be inaccurate; inasmuch as it only specifies four as being executed at Lancaster, whereas it is known that at least two more (both Scots) were there executed. The sheriff's accounts show that the 34 rebels executed in Lancashire lost their lives at the following places: Preston, 12; Wigan, 5; Manchester, 5; Garstang, 4; Lancaster, 4; and Liverpool, 4. We have no doubt that the five rebels named above, including Syddall, were hanged at Manchester.

Syddall left a son, who seems to have followed his father's lucrative trade of a peruke maker, as he is often named, in the party tracts of the time, a barber. He seems to have thriven in business, and it is said was the owner of some houses at the time of the rebellion of 1745; at which period his shop and house were in the Market Place, and he was a well-to-do tradesman, 40 years of age, with a wife and five children. He was one of Dr. Deacon's disciples, and would doubtless join the rebels under the doctor's influence, with the three sons of that "non-juring bishop." It is said, and was in his lifetime, that when the young chevalier or pretender, Charles Edward arrived in Manchester (Nov. 29th, 1745) Syddall exclaimed that the time was at length arrived when he could revenge his father's death. This, however, as will be seen, he subsequently denied. However, there seems no doubt that on Saturday the 29th November, 1745, Syddall entered as ensign in the Manchester regiment, which is said never to have exceeded three hundred men; and for the activity which he evinced, he was soon advanced to the rank of adjutant. It has been stated that not more than twenty-eight men of this regiment really belonged to Manchester, and that these were

chiefly of the congregation of Dr. Deacon, who had imbued them with Jacobite notions. These included the three sons of Dr. Deacon, Thomas and Robert, who received lieutenants' commissions, and Charles, the youngest, who was made ensign, and appointed secretary to the Manchester regiment, taking down the names of recruits at the Bull's Head Inn, and distributing blue and white favours. George Fletcher, aged 40, conducting his mother's business of a linen draper, near Salford Bridge, bought a captain's commission for £50. Mr. John Berwick, aged 31, another linen draper, became a lieutenant. Thomas Chadwick, another lieutenant, was bred a tallow chandler; William Bradshaw kept a Manchester warehouse, and was made ensign; Samuel Maddock, who was apprentice to an apothecary in Manchester, was made an ensign, and afterwards betrayed his associates, turning approver, and giving evidence which convicted several of them. Amongst the officers were also lieutenant John Holker, a calenderer of Manchester; and ensigns Charles Gayler, James Wilding, John Bretah, and William Bradshaw, all of Lancashire. The chaplain of the regiment was a young priest named Cappock, who had received his early education at the Manchester Free Grammar School. Mr. Francis Townley was made colonel of the regiment. On Saturday, the 6th December, a week after entering Manchester, the Pretender's army commenced its retreat northward from Derby. On the night of the 8th, four men of the Manchester regiment, which formed part of the vanguard, entered Manchester; one of them,— supposed to be "Thomas Syddall the barber,"— narrowly escaped being seized at the upper end of Market Street Lane; and in galloping through the Acres Gate into St. Ann's Square, being assailed by stones, he was obliged to quit his horse. Passing over the cold and hostile reception the Pretender and his troops met with in Manchester, on their retreat, we shall only notice that the rebel army reached Carlisle about seven o'clock in the morning of the 19th December, by which time the Manchester regiment had lost nearly two-thirds of its men by desertion; yet the Pretender left the remainder

(only 114 men) as the sole garrison of the city of Carlisle, while he hurried northward with his army. The Chevalier de Johnstone, aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray, says of Carlisle, that "it was not in a condition to resist a cannonade of 4 hours, being utterly untenable, and a thousand times worse than an intrenched camp in an open country." An opposite opinion was expressed by Thomas Syddall; but on such subjects we would rather take the judgment of the soldier than that of the peruke maker. The command of the city was assigned to Colonel Townley of the Manchester regiment; that of the castle being left to Colonel Hamilton as governor, and some companies of the regiment of the Duke of Perth. On the 21st the Duke of Cumberland appeared before the walls of Carlisle; but his battery did not arrive till the 28th. Colonel Townley advocated a gallant defence, but Hamilton, the governor of the citadel, proposed a surrender, and wrote to the Duke of Cumberland, offering terms of submission. The reply contained the following sentence: "All the terms his royal highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle are, that they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure." The town and citadel surrendered on these terms. The commissioned officers of the Manchester regiment, twenty in number (the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates, having dwindled down to ninety-three), including Adjutant Thomas Syddall, were conveyed in waggons under a strong guard to London. Robert, the second son of Dr. Deacon, fell ill on the journey, and was allowed to remain at Kendal, where he soon afterwards died. Pains having been taken to inflame the minds of the lower classes in London against the prisoners, by representing them all as papists, who, if they had succeeded, would have roasted the Duke of Cumberland to death, burned the bishops, and destroyed all heretics, men, women, and children,—they received the greatest indignities as they were conveyed in triumph through the streets to Newgate. The trials commenced on the 16th July, 1746, in the Court-house at St. Margaret's Hill, before commissioners ap-

pointed for the purpose. They lasted three days; all the prisoners being found guilty, and nine were ordered for execution, including Ensign and Adjutant Thomas Syddall. The prisoners under sentence of death (with the exception of Colonel Townley) are said by Dr. Hibbert-Ware (from whose collection of narratives we have derived most of these particulars) to have employed the interval of ten days between their trial and execution in preparing written declarations of their motives and sentiments in joining the standard of their prince. Some few of these documents (he adds) were suggested by inflammatory and designing politicians, who assisted their dupes to get them up. Such of the prisoners as were Deaconists were made to declare their belief in the Dr.'s "True British Catholic Church" in a set formula. Dr. Hibbert-Ware, after giving an outline of Syddall's address, says:

This is perhaps the most manly declaration which was printed, as it was written with true genuine feelings of loyalty for the cause which summoned him to the scaffold. It was by a man of low rank, but it was worthy the spirit of a Balmerino.

The execution took place on the 30th July, 1746, and is thus described, as regards Syddall, by Dr. Hibbert-Ware:

The morning of execution at length arrived. The nine officers of the Manchester regiment, attended by a strong party of soldiers, were, about eleven o'clock, conveyed on three hurdles from the new gaol of Southwark to the gallows erected at Kennington. . . . . A pile of faggots and a block were placed near the gallows; and while the prisoners were in the course of being removed from the sledges into a cart drawn for that purpose under a tree, the faggots were set on fire. The guards then formed a circle round the place of execution. The prisoners, though unattended by any clergyman, spent near an hour in their devotions. Thomas Syddall, the brave adjutant of the Manchester regiment, loudly expressed his hopes that his children would all die in the same cause. When the halter was put round his neck, he was observed to tremble. But the vulgar notion that the nervous *frissonnement* which will intrude itself under trying circumstances of any moral kind whatever, is the result of fear, must be deemed

erroneous. Syddall quickly recovered himself, and strove to conceal his momentary affection from the spectators by taking snuff. As the executioner was fastening his hands, he is said to have lifted up his eyes and to have ejaculated, with placid feelings of piety, "Lord help me." The prisoners then severally delivered the declarations which they had written, to the sheriff, expressive of their conviction of the glorious cause for which they bled. Soon afterwards they were turned off; all of them dying calm and composed. At the end of five minutes after suspension had taken place, Colonel Townley, even before signs of life had ceased to be extinct, was cut down and stripped. Being laid on the block, the hangman with a cleaver severed his head, and put it into a coffin; then, taking out his bowels and heart, he threw them into the fire. He afterwards proceeded to the others, cutting them down one by one, beheading and disembowelling them. When the heart of the last was thrown into the fire, the executioner cried out, "God save King George," and was answered by the spectators with a loud shout. Temple Bar was distinguished by the exposure of only one head, namely, Captain Fletcher's. The heads of Thomas Syddall and Thomas Theodorus Deacon were ordered to be sent to Manchester, where they were fixed upon spikes, and planted on the top of the public Exchange of the town. And, in order to obviate the new disaffection which was anticipated, two troops of Bland's dragoons were quartered upon the inhabitants. Dr. Deacon was one of the first who came to gaze upon the head of his son. He fixed his eyes upon it steadfastly, and, with the patriotic feelings of an ancient Roman, suppressed all parental emotions of depression, glorying that he had a son who had died the death of a martyr. He then took off his hat to both the heads before him, in reverence to the cause for which the sufferers had bled. This affecting act was imitated by those with whom he was surrounded, who felt as he did; and afterwards the Jacobites never passed the heads without repeating the obeisance.

In the Book of Accounts of the Constables of Manchester (1743–76), now in the possession of the President of the Chetham Society, is the following entry under the date "September 18, "1746. Expences tending the Sheriff this morn Syddall's and "Deacon's heads put up 00 . 01 . 06."

Amongst the rhyming effusions, to which the fate of the nine unhappy men give rise, one is remembered to have been sung, beginning:

My name is Tom Syddall, a barber;
In Manchester I am well known;
And now I am going to suffer
For fighting for King Charlie's own.

We have inquired in vain for a copy of this song.

When Syddall was executed his wife is said to have been *enceinte*, and when his head was placed on the top of the Exchange, as she lived in the Market Place, in a situation from which she would be sure to see it, if she looked out of her bedroom window, that window was carefully boarded up, to prevent the consequences of a sudden shock. The child born in this troublous time lived to womanhood, became the wife of Mr. Birch, a master dyer, in Salford, and survived him. They had a daughter who lived to be about eighteen years of age, and in her illness, being attended by Dr. Killer, who refused any fee for his attendance, out of gratitude and respect she bequeathed to the doctor the portrait of her grandfather, Thomas Syddall. The doctor did not much value pictures, and it is doubtful whether he ever took possession of it; for we learn it is now in the possession of the successors of Mrs. Birch's executors. [We believe it was subsequently presented to the picture gallery in the Peel Park Museum, Salford.] The surviving grand-daughter of Thomas Syddall also possesses a singular document, purporting to be his dying speech at the place of execution, dated on the day on which he suffered, and signed "Thomas Syddall." It is written in a good legible hand of the period; but we are inclined to think it a copy, and not the original, as there are three words near the end, distinctly written, but evidently miscopied — dispute for desperate, measures for miseries, and paint for point. So far as we are aware, this document has never been published, and we therefore print it. It is a careful and able composition, for the most part temperately argued, and if really written by Syddall himself, shows him to have been a man of some literary ability. Amongst its facts and statements are the following: Thomas Syddall was a member of

Dr. Deacon's non-juring church; he was in good circumstances, had a wife and five children, refers to the execution of his father in 1715, as a martyrdom, denies that he was actuated by any desire to revenge his father's death, or that he was tempted to enter the "Prince of Wales's" army by ambitious or interested views, but that his sole motive was his duty in endeavouring to restore "King James III." The contrast between the Duke of Cumberland and the young Pretender is curious; and the treachery and ingratitude of Mr. John Vere and Mr. Samuel Maddoc are well urged. Another statement is curious,— that Syddall had insisted on holding out at Carlisle, as the place was tenable for many days, and he characterises its surrender as scandalous. The Duke of Cumberland, for putting to death those whose lives he had guaranteed in the capitulation signed by himself, is strongly censured; the bishops and clergy, and the credulous mob, are forgiven; the former their pulpit orations against the Pretender, and the latter the barbarous insults which Syddall received from them when in chains. The choicest blessings are prayed for on King James III. and his royal son the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York,— meaning James Francis Edward, Chevalier de St. George, and his two sons, Charles-Edward, called the Young Chevalier or Pretender, and his brother Henry Benedict, afterwards Cardinal York. The conclusion of the address puts in forcible terms the Jacobite view of England, under the rule of the House of Brunswick. The great length of the speech makes it doubtful whether it was ever spoken; and it is not impossible that it was composed for Syddall by Dr. Deacon, whose two sons were tried and one of them executed at the same time. Without further preface we give the address as it has been put in our hands:

Friends, Brethren, and Countrymen,— Since I am brought here to be made a sacrifice for doing the duty of a Christian and an Englishman, it may be expected I should give some account of myself, and the cause for which I suffer. This expectation I will gladly indulge; and I wish the whole kingdom might be fully informed of what I now say, at the hour of my death, when there is the least reason to doubt of my sincerity. I die

not a member of the Church of Rome, nor yet that of England, but [of] a pure episcopal church, which hath reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects that have been introduced into the modern churches of Christendom — a church which is in perfect communion with the ancient and universal church of Christ, by adhering uniformly to antiquity, universality, and consent, — that glorious principle, which, if once strictly and impartially pursued, would, and which alone can, remove all the distractions, and unite all the divided branches, of the Christian church. This holy catholic principle is agreed to by all churches, eastern and western, popish and protestant, and yet, unhappily, is practised by none but the church in whose holy communion I have the happiness to die. May God of his great mercy increase the members thereof; and if any would inquire into its primitive constitution, I refer them to our Common Prayer Book, which is entitled "A complete collection of devotions, both public and private, taken from the apostolical constitutions, the ancient liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England," printed in London, in the year 1734. I most humbly and heartily offer up my prayers and thanksgivings to Almighty God, that he hath been pleased, of his great goodness, to give me grace to follow the pious example of my father, who endured hardships like a good soldier of Jesus Christ, was martyred under the government of the late usurper, in the year 1715, for his loyal zeal in the cause of his lawful king. And I solemnly declare, that no mean, wicked motive of revenging my father's death (as hath been uncharitably said) induced me to join in attemping the restoration of the royal family. I think I had no occasion to be displeased with his murderers, when I reflect (as I firmly believe) that instead of punishing, they sent him to everlasting rest sooner than he would have gone according to the course of nature; and, so far from doing any injury to his family, they pointed them out by his sufferings an excellent example of Christian courage, and contributed by that means to the good of his innocent children. Neither was I tempted to enter into the army commanded by the Prince of Wales, by any ambitious or self-interested views. I was very easy in my circumstances, and wanted no addition of riches to increase my happiness; my desires were limited within reasonable bounds, and what I thought I had occasion for (I thank God) I was able to procure; and, to make my joy as full as in this world ought to be wished, I was blessed with an excellent, faithful, religious, and loving wife, and five children, the tender objects of

our care and affections. In this situation I was void of ambition, and thankful to God for his gracious disposal of me. My motive for serving in the prince's army was, the duty I owe to God, the king, and the country, in endeavouring the restoration of King James III. and the royal family, which I am persuaded is the only human means by which this nation can ever become great and happy. For although I have never had the honour of seeing his majesty, yet I am [so] well assured by others of his excellent wisdom, justice, and humanity, that I would think it his greatest glory to rule over a free and happy people, without the least innovation upon their religion or liberties. For this we have not only the royal promise of the king himself, — than which a reasonable people cannot desire a greater security, — but we have the word of a young prince, who is too great and good to falsify, or impose upon any people; a prince blessed with all the qualities which can adorn a throne, and who may challenge his keenest enemies to impute to him a vice which can blacken his character; whom to serve is a duty and a pleasure, and to die for, an honour. And here I cannot but take notice of his royal highness, had he any of the cruelty in his temper which hath so abundantly shown itself in his enemy, the pretended Duke of Cumberland, he would have shown it upon Mr. John Vere, when he had him in his power, and knew that he had been a spy upon the royal family abroad, and upon the prince at home almost from the time of his first landing; but the brave, unfortunate young hero, with a noble compassion, spared that life which has since been employed in our destruction. If I might presume to say that the gallant, good prince hath any fault, it would be that of an ill-timed humanity; for, if he had been so just to himself and to his virtuous cause wherein he was engaged, to have made examples of some of those who betrayed him, in all human probability he had succeeded in his glorious undertaking, and been preserved for a fate to which his virtues justly entitled him. There is one thing I am bound, in justice to others, to take notice of, in respect to Mr. Samuel Maddoc. He, for prudential reasons, was not produced upon my trial, to imbrue his hands in my blood, as well as in that of my fellow-sufferers; yet I solemnly declare, in the presence of heaven, where I hope shortly to be, that in the trial of Mr. Thomas Deacon and Mr. John Beswick, I heard him perjure himself, as I verily believe he did in every other trial in which he was produced as a witness. To this sin of perjury, he added the odious crime of ingratitude, for, to my own knowledge, he was under great obligation to the very people whom he had falsely sworn against, and was sup-

ported and kept from starving by them and me for a considerable time while in prison, when nobody else would assist him. I heartily forgive all those who had any hand in the scandalous surrender of Carlisle, for it was the opinion of every one of the garrison, who had been in foreign service, that the place was tenable for many days; and as the Elector's troops, then being before the town, were in a bad condition, it is highly probable that a gallant defence, which I strenuously insisted upon, would have procured such terms as would have prevented the fate to which we are now consigned; and I also forgive the pretended Duke of Cumberland, for his dishonourable and unsoldierly proceedings, in putting us to death, in violation of the laws of nations, after a written capitulation signed to the contrary, and after the garrison, upon the faith of that capitulation, surrendered the place, and faithfully performed all the conditions required of them. I pray God forgive and turn the hearts of the bishops and their clergy, who, prostituting the duty of their holy professions, have departed from their function as messengers of peace, and scandalously employed themselves in their pulpits to abuse the best prince, engaged in the most righteous cause in the world, and, contrary to their own consciences and opinions, represented him and his army in a disadvantageous and false light, in order to get the mob on their side, and spirit up an unthinking people to blood-thirsty, cruel, uncharitable dispositions. I could heartily wish these men would prefer the character of suffering to sinning, and consider how contrary it is to a true pastor, to receive his instructions about what doctrine he is to preach, from the baneful court of an impious usurper. The credulous mob, who have thus been set on by their teachers, them I also pray God to forgive, for the barbarous insults I received from them when in chains; "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." As I have before given thanks to Almighty God for the example of my honest father, so I earnestly beseech him that the same Christian suffering spirit may ever be in all my dear children, praying that they may have the grace to tread the same dangerous steps which have led me to this place, and may also have the courage and constancy to endure to the end, and despise human power when it stands opposite to duty. I pray God, of his great mercy and goodness, that he would be pleased to pour down the chiefest of his blessings upon the sacred head of King James the Third, and his royal son, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York; and although England be not in a disposition to deserve so great a favour, yet for the sake of justice, and the love which nature and duty

prompt me to bear to my native country, to restore them soon to their lawful, natural, and undoubted rights; and, in the meanwhile, to inspire them with Christian patience and firmness of heart, to bear their undeserved misfortunes. It would be an unspeakable satisfaction to me, if my manner of dying, or anything I now say, would contribute to remove these unhappy and unreasonable prejudices, in which too many of my countrymen are misled. Danger of popery, and fear of French power, are the idle pretences that wicked and designing men make use of to misguide and stir up the passions of unwary, though perhaps honest, people; but if Englishmen would reflect that those who make the most noise about popery are remarkably void of any religion at all, and dispute [? desperate] in their morals; that Atheism, infidelity, profaneness, and debauchery, are openly avowed and practised even within the walls of that very court whence they derived their fancied religious and civil liberties; if they would reflect, when they talk of French influence, that they seek protection from a German usurper, who is hourly aggrandising himself, and raising his foreign dominions upon the ruin of the deluded people of England;—if they would reflect that I and my fellow-sufferers are now murdered in order to weaken the cause of loyal virtue, and to strike a terror into the minds of all such that have the honest inclination to do their king, their country, and themselves justice;—if they would reflect upon the calamities, the measures [? miseries], the desolation of Scotland, which presages the destruction of this already more than half-ruined country, surely they would find little cause to be pleased with their situation—a situation so extremely distant from honour and happiness, that it would be uncharitable and unbecoming for a dying man to wish even his most inveterate enemy to continue in it, and which I pray God, of his infinite mercy, to deliver all Englishmen from. If, my dear countrymen, you have any regard for your own happiness (which, in charity, I have endeavoured to paint [? point] out in my dying moments), let me beseech you, in the name of God, to restore your liege sovereign, and, with him, the glorious advantages of an excellent constitution, under a lawful government. This is every man's duty to aim at: if your honest attempts should fail, remember that it is a great blessing to die for the cause of virtue, and that an Almighty power can and will reward such as suffer for righteousness' sake. To that God, infinite in his goodness, and eternal in his providence, I recommend my soul, imploring his forgiveness for all my sins, and hoping for a

speedy translation to eternal joy, through the merits and sufferings of Jesus Christ. — Amen; amen; amen. THOMAS SYDDALL.

Wednesday, July 30th, 1746.

Still there remains a sequel. The 9th October, 1746, was appointed as a thanksgiving day in Manchester for the defeat of the rebels at the battle of Culloden. After divine services and sermons commemorative, the bells rang, bonfires blazed, the different trades paraded, with their badges, insignia, flags, &c.; and at night there was an illumination in which even Dr. Deacon was obliged to join, and yet the soldiers assailed his house and those of others, including that of the poor widow of Thomas Syddall. Of this outrage the following account appears in the *Chester Courant:*

There is amongst us a poor woman, Mrs. Syddall, late wife of one of the unhappy persons whose heads have been fixed up here, and at present a distressed widow, deprived of her family's chief support, and burdened with five young children, who, — being too much swallowed up in her own private calamity to enter into public rejoicing, or show any marks of joy upon an event, which, though happy to the whole, yet is melancholy and fatal enough, God knows, to her, — neglected to light up candles; upon which a party of soldiers, along with some townsmen, assaulted her house in the most violent and outrageous manner, not only breaking the windows and demolishing the shutters, and the very frames of the sashes, but even threatening to lay it level with the ground, so that she was forced to fly with her children to a neighbour's house, and leave her own to their mercy. The scandal, too, of this illegal, injurious, and inhuman action was aggravated by its being done within six yards of the principal guard, the sentinel walking at the very door without any offer to prevent it, and not forty from the house where the officers and civil magistrates were celebrating the day. This conduct being afterwards contrasted with the service and long prayers which had been used in the morning by the Whig clergy, gave rise to the following severe satire [which has a strong flavour of John Byrom about it]:

By the bare letter of the text, a Laick
Might think the times were very Pharisaick;

Long prayers to heaven are in the morning pour'd —
At night, behold, the widow'd house devour'd!

We have been favoured with the loan of the portrait of this unhappy son of a wretched father, — both doomed as traitors to perish on the scaffold. It is an oil painting, on canvas, 2 feet 6½ inches by 2 feet 1 inch, and in very fair preservation. It is an exceedingly good specimen of the portrait painting of the period, and certainly superior to the average of portraits of that day. In half-length, with three-quarter face, it represents Mr. Syddall as a sensible, intelligent, comfortable burgher of about forty, with a good, intellectual forehead, so far as it can be seen, for the head is covered by a rather full peruke, doubtless of Syddall's own manufacture. The face is large and full, the double chin beginning to be obvious; the complexion fresh, if not quite ruddy. The upper part of the face has a character calm and sedate, rather than lively on the one hand, or stern or gloomy on the other. The eyes are hazel, the nose good and rather fleshy. The lower part of the countenance has its less agreeable characteristics. The chin is long and double, and, with the lips, which are closed, with a slight smile lurking about them, and full jaw, gives a somewhat sensuous, if not sensual expression to the countenance. On the whole, however, it is a good full face, with the character of a cheerfully sedate disposition, and a sort of bonhommie about it, that would attract rather than repel. Before seeing it, we tried to picture the visage of the Jacobite perruquier, and found ourselves seeing "in our mind's eye, Horatio," a little, dapper, bustling, wiry, fussy, man; and were agreeably surprised at finding a realisation so different to our anticipations. Were the portrait hung in a gallery, without name or reference, we should guess the original to be either a respectable "alderman, citizen, and clothworker," or a dissenting minister or doctor of a century ago, or a schoolmaster of the Charles Lawson stamp and standing. He is represented as attired in a single-breasted coat, of quakerly plainness, and of light snuff brown hue; vest of the same; white

linen cravat, and small lace ruffle to his shirt; his chapeau bras carried under his arm, in the old style. The back-ground is entirely in shadow, so as to throw out the portrait into all the prominence of high light.

Colonel Townley and the Rebellion of 1745.

HAVING in the previous article given some account of the executed Syddalls, father and son, Jacobites of 1715 and 1745, it may be desirable to put on record some incidents connected with the life and death of another ill-fated partisan of the house of Stuart, — Colonel Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic gentleman, a scion of one of the oldest families in Lancashire. In Baines's *Lancashire* (which, however, gives no satisfactory pedigree of the family), he is called "Francis Townley, Esq., of Carlisle, nephew of Mr. Townley, of Townley Hall, Lancashire, who was himself tried for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715, but acquitted." But he could only be said to be of Carlisle, from his brief occupation of that city as its governor; for in the list of the English who surrendered themselves there to the Duke of Cumberland on the 30th December, 1745, the first name is that of "Fran's Townly, of Townly, collonel, governour of the town." The following account of him is quoted from some unknown source in Dr. Hibbert-Ware's *History of the Foundations of Manchester* (vol. ii. p. 97):

His education was suitable to his birth, but by some misfortunes in his family he was obliged to retire to France, which happened in the year 1728. Being a man of spirit he was soon taken notice of by the French court, and being recommended to the King of France as a person capable of a post in his army, Mr. Townley received a commission, in consequence of which he served at the siege of Philipsburgh, under the Marshal Duke of Berwick, who lost his life before the walls of that place. Mr. Townley, then a young

officer, behaved himself there with such courage and conduct as gained him the respect and esteem of all the officers in the army. He executed all the orders of his superiors with the greatest intrepidity, and exposed himself on every occasion in such a manner as if life was of no signification, when honour and the service of his master stood in competition with it. He was likewise in several other sieges and engagements, where his behaviour was always such as became a man of honour; and, as he received the pay of the King of France, he thought it his duty to serve him with all the fidelity he was capable of. A few years since he came into England, and afterwards resided privately in Wales upon a small income, till about the time of the breaking out of the Rebellion. The French King, imagining Mr. Townley might be of service in promoting his views in the invasion which he had meditated against Great Britain, sent him a colonel's commission, to enable him to raise forces, and to assist his ally, the Pretender, in his expedition to Scotland.

To this account Dr. Hibbert-Ware adds the following:

Colonel Townley having accordingly visited Manchester, in the hopes that in a town so favourable to the Jacobitish cause, he might be of the greatest service to his employers, was generally admitted in the councils of the Jacobites. To Dr. Byrom the colonel's society was far less agreeable than to the rest of the party. Profane expletives being then very common garnishings in the discourse of military men, and Colonel Townley being not quite out of fashion, the Doctor was often astounded at the oaths which he heard uttered; and on one occasion, when the brave officer was *showing off*, took the liberty of reproving him in the usual off-hand manner of his ready muse:

"O that the muse might call, without offence,
The gallant soldier back to his good sense!
His temp'ral field so cautious not to lose;
So careless quite of his eternal foes.
Soldier, so tender of thy prince's fame,
Why so profuse of a superior name?
For the king's sake the brunt of battles bear,
But — for the King of kings' sake — *do not swear!*"

The place selected for their meetings was a small public house near the village of Didsbury, adjoining a well-known ferry, named Jackson's Boat. Here the Jacobites often dined, and immediately after the cloth was with-

drawn, it was customary to introduce a large bowl of water, which was placed in the middle of the table. Every gentleman then rose, and holding his glass over the bowl, drank, "The King." "This is not a toast I expected to be drunk *here*," remarked a newly-introduced guest. "Tush," says his friend, "are we not drinking the *King over the water?*" For this anecdote I am indebted (says Dr. Hibbert-Ware) to the late Rev. Joshua Brookes, chaplain of the Collegiate Church, Manchester. [The point of the story lies in the fact, which Dr. Hibbert-Ware has omitted, that George the Second was himself at the time on the Continent.]

We must now trace the movements of Colonel Townley himself. He seems to have joined Prince Charles at Carlisle, and to have subsequently "directed his march through the counties of England. On the 26th November, 1745, the rebel forces arrived at Preston, where they rested during the whole of the following day." At this time, it is conjectured, Colonel Townley paid hasty visits to several of his old neighbours, the heads of the county families in that district; and amongst others there is a tradition that he visited Gawthorpe Hall, the seat of the Shuttleworths, between whom and the Townleys of Townley there had long existed much friendship and intimacy. What was his real errand there, it is not difficult to conjecture. But if it were to incite the Shuttleworths of that day, with their tenants and dependents, to join in the rebellion, his arguments were unsuccessful, and he left the house without any succour, or the promise of future aid. But a few years ago, during an extensive repair and renovation of Gawthorpe Hall, the panelling of a window-sill in one of the chambers was removed, and then there was found in a hole beneath the sill, a sum of money in gold, of which only a few were of English coinage, the others being chiefly Spanish pieces, and it is said none of later date than 1745. On examining the window-sill panelling, it was found that after the wood had been forced up, apparently with a dagger blade, and the money hidden, the panel had been driven into its place again with the pommel of the dagger, which had left its dints in the wood. The reasonable, and indeed the most probable conjecture is, that Colonel Townley, about to go

southward on a perilous expedition, and perhaps apprehensive of robbery while travelling alone through a disturbed district, had concealed this sum, said to be about £150 or £160, in a place where he rightly deemed it would be secure and undiscovered, — with the intention, when peaceful times returned, or when opportunity served during the struggle about to commence, to possess himself of it again. But that time never came. From Preston to Derby, southward, his duties left him no time to return to Gawthorpe, near Burnley; and the forced marches of the retreat from Derby to Carlisle were still less favourable as to time, although the unfortunate man must have passed within a few miles of his friend's house, with its secret hoard. That he was not without money at Carlisle is clear from his advancing £80 to pay his men; and it is stated that whatever the faults of the Duke of Cumberland, he strictly forbade any of the officers taken at Carlisle to be rifled of their money. But from Carlisle, Colonel Townley was carried a close prisoner to London, and there executed; and in all probability the secret of his hidden deposit died with him, to be accidentally revealed after more than a century had passed away.

We must turn from this episode to trace the progress of Colonel Townley on the march southward, through Manchester to Derby; and during the subsequent retreat to Carlisle, and the surrender of that portion of the Pretender's troops left there, to the Duke of Cumberland. About nine o'clock on the evening of Friday, the 28th November, 1745, the vanguard of the rebel forces entered Manchester, the main body passing the night at Wigan and Leigh; and entering Manchester on the following day. They arrived about ten o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 29th, and marched into St. Ann's Square. It was about two in the afternoon when the young chevalier and his staff arrived, probably including Colonel Townley. The Prince nominated him to the command of the regiment at once raised by recruiting, in Manchester; but which seems never to have exceeded 300 men; so much were the Jacobites deceived in their expectations of support there. The Chevalier de Johnstone, aide-de-camp to Lord George Murray,

who left behind him some "Memoires of the Rebellion," after stating that his sergeant, Dickson, had raised him 180 recruits in Manchester, adds—"But I did not derive any advantage from these recruits. Mr. Townley, formerly an officer in the service of France, who had joined us some days before, obtained the rank of colonel, with permission to raise a regiment entirely composed of English; and the Prince ordered me to deliver over to him all those whom Dickson had enlisted for me." Sunday November 30th being the anniversary of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, all the Scottish officers of the Chevalier attended service, performed according to their own communion, in the Collegiate Church. After service the Manchester regiment were mustered in the churchyard, when each of the officers appeared in a plaid waistcoat, and with a white cockade; wearing also a sword by his side with a brace of pistols attached to his girdle. Colonel Townley, as a badge of his superior authority, displayed in addition a Highland plaid sash, lined with white silk. The flag of the regiment had on one side, "Liberty and Property," and on the other, "Church and Country." Some artillery accompanied the corps, and the whole was reviewed by the young Chevalier. The same evening and early on the morning of Monday, the 1st December, the Prince's forces marched by different routes towards Macclesfield, the advanced guard reaching that town on Monday, before the main body had passed Stockport. The Manchester regiment, on the Sunday night, reached Wilmslow; and it was the afternoon of Tuesday, the 2nd, when the troops generally reached Macclesfield. The Manchester regiment was drawn up in the churchyard of that town, in order that arms might be delivered to such as were without them. The forces passed on through Leek, and on Thursday, the 4th December, reached Derby; when the drum was ordered to go round the town to beat up for recruits for the Manchester regiment, commanded by the Hon. Col. Townley. In the course of that day it was determined by the Scottish officers, in a council of war, that it was better to retreat to Scotland, where large reinforcements awaited them, than to advance further south, where few

joined them, while an army of 30,000 was reported as ready to meet them. By the Manchester regiment the affairs of the Prince were now conceived to be in a desperate condition, and from this time desertions were frequent. On the night of Saturday, December 6, the army lay at Ashbourne, in Derbyshire; and Colonel Townley is said to have had two sentinels stationed at his chamber door, lest the Duke of Cumberland should prove nearer than they imagined. On the 7th the army reached Leek; on the 8th, Macclesfield; and Colonel Townley's Manchester regiment, which now formed part of the vanguard, proceeded forward to Manchester, which the main body reached in the afternoon of Tuesday, the 9th. On the 10th, the Prince, hearing that the Duke of Cumberland was advancing by forced marches, ordered a hasty retreat from Manchester; the main body of the troops marching in the morning, and the remainder in the course of the afternoon. The Manchester regiment was particularly dispirited. The retreat was continued northward by Wigan, Preston, Lancaster, Kendal, Shap, and Penrith, to Carlisle, where they arrived after marching all night, about seven o'clock on the morning of the 19th December. By this time the Manchester regiment had lost nearly two-thirds of its men by desertion. The Prince, from some unknown cause, determined to leave the Manchester regiment, now reduced to only 114 men, to garrison the citadel of Carlisle, together with 274 Scotsmen. Adjutant Syddall declared, on the eve of his execution, that it was the opinion of every one in the garrison who had been in foreign service that the place was tenable many days. The Chevalier Johnstone was of a diametrically opposite opinion. The command of the town was assigned to Colonel Townley and his Manchester regiment, and the colonel had a commission given him to raise for King James a troop of horse. The command of the castle was left to Colonel Hamilton, as governor, who had some companies of the regiment of the Duke of Perth. Colonel Townley being thus left in command of the town, gave directions for the guns to be mounted. He ordered a house in Carlisle to be burned, on the plea that several of the Elector of Hanover's men had fired

from it, and annoyed the prince's army. He also caused several chevaux de frise to be made and fixed at the gates and entrances of the city, in order to prevent the Duke of Cumberland's horse from approaching it. He next commanded some of the soldiers to make a sortie and bring in some sheep, himself mounting the walls, with a pistol in his hand, to give notice by firing if the king's forces were near. As the pay of the men in the Manchester regiment ran short, the deficiency was supplied by the officers, Colonel Townley advancing, as his share, £80. On the 21st December, the Duke of Cumberland appeared before the walls, which he invested on all sides, and continued the blockade for seven days, without opening the trenches, during which time the garrison kept up a continual but ineffectual fire. On the 28th, having received some heavy cannon from Whitehaven, the Duke erected a battery of six 18-pounders, which damped the spirits of the besieged. The result is thus described by Dr. Hibbert-Ware:

Colonel Townley, however, was still for a gallant defence, and encouraged the soldiers to make sallies against the king's forces. But Hamilton, who was governor of the citadel, proposed a surrender. This incensed the colonel, who replied (*more solito*) "Better to die by the sword, than fall into the hands of those damn'd Hanoverians!" The sentiments of the Manchester regiment with regard to a capitulation may be learned from Syddall's declaration, to which an allusion has been before made: — "As it was the opinion," he affirmed, "of every one in the garrison who had been in foreign service, that the place was tenable many days, and as the elector's troops then lying before the town were in bad condition, it is highly probable that a gallant defence, which I strenuously insisted upon, would have procured us such terms as to have prevented the fate to which we were consigned." Colonel Hamilton, however, wrote to the Duke, offering terms of submission; and when this was done, as Colonel Townley observed, it was of no use for himself and his regiment to stand out. The messenger who carried the letter was instantly arrested, upon which Captain Vere, a prisoner whom the rebels had taken in their march southwards, was desired to go upon the mission, taking with him another letter offering terms of surrender, which was written with the concurrence of Captain Abernethy and the Scotch officers. Accordingly, the next day the white flag was hung out,

and soon afterwards Colonel Hamilton received a reply to his letter in the following words: "All the terms His Royal Highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle are, that they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure. If they consent to these conditions, the governor and principal officers are to deliver themselves up immediately; and the castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town are to be taken possession of forthwith by the King's troops. All the small arms are to be lodged in the town guard-room, and the rest of the garrison are to retire to the Cathedral, where a guard is to be placed over them. No damage is to be done to the artillery, arms, or ammunition. Head quarters at Blackall, 30th December, half-an-hour past two in the afternoon. By his Royal Highness's command, Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigney, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's forces." The town and citadel were, agreeably to these terms, surrendered, and the list of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the Manchester regiment was as follows: *Colonel*, Francis Townley; *Captains*, John Sanderson, Peter Moss, James Dawson, George Fletcher, Andrew Blood, Thomas David Morgan; *Lieutenants*, Thomas Theodorus Deacon, John Berwick, Robert Deacon, John Holker, Thomas Chadwick, Thomas Furnival; *Ensigns*, Charles Deacon, Charles Gaylor, John Hunter, James Wilding, John Bretah (often named Betts or Batteagh), Samuel Maddock; *Adjutant*, Thomas Syddall. To this list may be added the name of James Cappock, the *chaplain*, and new made *quarter-master*. The non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates, had dwindled down to ninety-three in number.

The commissioned officers of the Manchester regiment were conveyed in waggons, under a strong guard, from Carlisle to London. The minds of the lower classes there having been inflamed by describing the rebels as Roman Catholics, who were determined, if successful, to spit, burn, and roast alive all heretics,—when Colonel Townley and his brother officers were conducted through the streets of the metropolis in a sort of triumph, they received all sorts of indignities. They were afterwards lodged in cells in Newgate. All the officers were induced to expect that, as they had served under French commissions, they would be deemed prisoners of war, and would be regularly exchanged. The name of Colonel Townley was inserted at the head of the

list demanded by cartel from France. During his confinement in Newgate, Colonel Townley, for some reason or other, had no relish for the society of his late companions in the campaign, and showed much hauteur. He conversed with no one but Mr. Saunderson, his Roman Catholic priest and confessor. It was determined that the full vengeance of the law should fall upon all belonging to the Manchester regiment. Those in Newgate were ordered to prepare for their trial, previously to which they were removed to the prison of Southwark. The trials commenced on the 16th July, 1746, in the Court-house at St. Margaret's Hill, before the high commissioners appointed for that purpose.

Colonel Townley was first arraigned. His counsel pleaded that he had been sixteen years in the service of France, and, during the time in which he took up arms for the Pretender, had held a commission from the French king, and consequently was as much in the service of France as any officer in the French army. It was therefore urged, that Colonel Townley had as just a right to the cartel as any French officer that had been taken by the English during the progress between the two kingdoms. But the court was of opinion that evidence to this effect would be against the prisoner; for that no man who was by birth a liege subject of His Majesty was justifiable in taking up arms, and acting in the service of a prince who was actually in war against His Majesty. The behaviour of Colonel Townley during the trial was firm and undaunted; and when sentence of death was passed against him, he was not in the least discomposed, nor did his countenance undergo any change of colour. The trials lasted three days, and the whole of the prisoners arraigned being found guilty, the following were ordered for execution: Francis Townley, colonel; John Sanderson, James Dawson, George Fletcher, Thomas David Morgan, and Andrew Blood, captains; Thomas Deacon and Thomas Chadwick, lieutenants; and Thomas Syddall, ensign and adjutant. The rest were reprieved, with the view that their punishments should be commuted for transportation or imprisonment. Ensign Maddock, as it has been mentioned, and some few of less rank belonging to the Manchester regiment, had been admitted as evidence for the crown. The prisoners under sentence of death, which was ordered to take place on the 30th July, began to make preparations to meet their fate with firmness and composure. They were most of them anxious to proclaim to the world that they died martyrs in the cause of their Prince, and

with the exception of the more dignified Townley, who did not think any such confession necessary, employed themselves in preparing written declarations of their motives and sentiments in joining the standard of their Prince.

On the 30th July the nine officers were executed on gallows erected for the purpose on Kennington Common; all dying calm and composed. At the end of five minutes after suspension had taken place, Colonel Townley, even before signs of life had ceased to be extinct, was cut down and stripped. Being laid on the block, the hangman, with a cleaver, severed his head and put it into a coffin; then, taking out his bowels and heart he threw them into a fire of faggots, kindled for the purpose. The remains of the Manchester sufferers having been carried to the prison, it was intended that the heads of Townley and some of his companions in arms should be set up over some public gate of the metropolis. But at the intercession of friends this part of the colonel's sentence was remitted; an undertaker at Pancras being allowed to take charge of his corpse, by whom it was interred; so that Temple Bar exhibited only one head, that of Captain Fletcher, and Baines is in error in stating (vol. ii. p. 71) that the head of Colonel Townley was also exposed there. Amongst the various Jacobite effusions of the period, to which these executions gave rise, the following will form an interesting sequel to this brief memoir. It relates to the supposed breach of faith committed to the prisoners of war after the capitulation of Carlisle, and the promise of William, Duke of Cumberland; against whom the bitterest denunciations of the English and Scottish partisans of the house of Stuart were launched, under the name of "The Curse of Scotland." Who was the author of the following lines, may never be ascertained; but it is not a little remarkable, seeing their bitter character, that they should have been deemed worthy of transcription by a lady, the wife of a clergyman of the Church of England. Yet I am assured that the MS. is in the handwriting of Mrs. Kenyon, wife of the clergyman of that name, resident a century ago in Salford, and incumbent of Trinity Chapel. The lines run thus:

TOWNLEY'S GHOST.

When Sol in shades of night was lost,
And all was fast asleep,
In glided Townley's murdered ghost,
And stood at William's feet.

"Infernal wretch! away," he cry'd,
"And view the mangled shade,
"Who on thy perjured faith rely'd,
"And basely was betray'd.

"Embrued in bliss, embalm'd in ease,
"Tho' now thou seems to lye,
"My injured shade shall gall thy ease,
"And make thee beg to die.

"Think on the hellish acts you've done,
"The thousands you've betrayed;
"Nero himself would blush to own
"The slaughter thou hast made.

"Not infants' shrieks, nor parents' tears,
"Cou'd stop thy bloody hand;
"Nor even ravish'd virgins' tears
"Appease thy dire command.

"But oh! what pangs are set apart
"In hell thou'lt shortly see,
"Where even all the damned will start,
"To view a fiend like thee."

With speed, affrighted, William rose,
All trembling, wan, and pale;
And to his cruel sire* he goes,
And tells the dreadful tale.

"Cheer up, my dear, my darling son,"
The bold usurper said;
"Never repent of what you've done,
"Nor be at all dismay'd.

---

* William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, was the second son of George II. He was born 15th April, 1721, and died in 1765.

"If we on Stuart's throne can dwell,
"And reign securely here,
"Thy uncle Satan 's king of hell,
"And he'll protect us there."

NOTICES OF NOTABLES.

Podmore, the Learned Peruke Maker.

TO Harrold and the Syddalls we may add, as distinguished amongst the barbers and peruke makers of Manchester during the first half of the last century, the author of a book, by no means of common occurrence, bearing the title of:

The Layman's Apology for Returning to Primitive Christianity. Shewing from the Testimonies of Ancient, and the Concessions of Modern Writers, that the Greek, Roman, and English Churches, as well as the Pretended Churches of the Anti-Episcopal Reformation, have each, in some degree, departed from the Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church: And Pointing out a Pure Episcopal Church in England, which teaches and practices All the Ordinances of Christ and his Church in their Evangelical Perfection. Written, in the year 1745, by THOMAS PODMORE, at that time Barber and Peruke Maker in Manchester.—"From the beginning it was not so." S. Matth. xix. 8.—"Prove all things: hold fast that which is good." 1 Thess. v. 21.—"Be ready always to give an answer to every one, who asketh you a reason of the hope which is in you, with meekness and fear." 1 Pet. iii. 15.—"Meekness permits me to seek out for some purer Church, if that may conveniently be had for me——— my endeavour so to do is extremely commendable." *Dr. Hammond's Practical Catechism*, book 2, § 4.—"What I propose to myself, is to search into the Ancients, to prove all things, to hold to those which are good, and never to recede from the Faith of the Catholick Church."

S. Jerom. epist. 159. *ad Miner.*— Leedes: Printed by James Lister; and sold by the booksellers at Manchester; and by M. Cooper, at the Golden Ball, in Pater-noster-Row, London. MDCCXLVII. [Price stitcht Two Shillings and Six-pence.]

Preface and contents 8 pages, work itself 206 pages. Thomas Podmore was the friend of Dr. Deacon, and this very learned Treatise in defence of the principles laid down in the "Full, True, and Comprehensive view of Christianity" would have done no discredit to the doctor himself. The barber has the fathers and the modern non-juring divines perfectly at command, and quotes Justin Martyr, Cyprian, and Cyril of Jerusalem, as if patristic Theology, and not shaving and peruke making, had been the grand exercise of his life. He dates his preface "Manchester, All Saints, 1745." We shall merely give, as an extract, a portion of his "Conclusion":

And now, upon the whole, having found that the Greek Church is justly chargeable with having departed from the Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church in the great points of 1. Transubstantiation and Adoration of the Host [those being linked together, I call them but one]; 2. Praying to Saints and Angels; 3. Worship of Images; and with imposing these corrupt practices and determinations upon all who communicate with her: And having found the Roman Church also chargeable with the same, and further 4. with maintaining and imposing the doctrine of the Bishop of Rome's Supremacy; 5. Purgatory Fire between death and the resurrection, with its sequence; 6. with taking the Apocrypha into the Canon of Scripture; 7. Witholding the Eucharistick Cup, or Communion in one kind; 8. Rejecting Infant Communion; 9. Making the Consecration of the Eucharist to consist in the words of institution; 10. Imposing the Filioque; 11. Not using Trine Immersion in Baptism; 12. Disregarding the ancient practice of praying Standing on Sundays and between Easter and Whitsuntide; 13. Disregarding the Apostolical Precept of abstaining from eating Blood; 14. Disregarding the Saturday Festival; 15. Disregarding the Wednesday Fast: And having also found the Church of England chargeable with the last Eight deviations; and further 9. with maintaining and imposing the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy; 10. with Rejecting the Mixture of the Eucharistick Cup; 11. Denying the Eucharist to be a

Sacrifice; and in consequence of that, wanting the Oblatory prayer, and 12. the Invocatory prayer; 13. Rejecting prayer for the Faithful Departed; 14. Rejecting or laying aside Chrism in Confirmation, and 15. Unction of the Sick: And, lastly, having found the Anti-Episcopalians to be in a worse condition than any of these, they having rejected almost every thing, particularly Episcopacy, without which there can be no Church: I say, having found upon mature and impartial examination, that those three famous Churches have all departed from the doctrine and practice of the Primitive Catholick Church, one in Three, and the two others in Fifteen particulars each, and that the Dissenters from these have Unchurched themselves; I now come to point out that pure Episcopal Church in England, in whose bosom (praised be God) I have the honour and happiness to repose: A Church, which is not chargeable with any of the above-mentioned errors or defects; but, on the contrary, is exactly agreeable to the Golden Rule laid down in the beginning of this tract: in a word, a Church, which teaches and practices ALL the ordinances of Christ and his Church in their evangelical perfection.

The Church that I am speaking of, had her Offices printed at London, M,DCC,XXXIV, under this Title. "A Compleat Collection of Devo-"tions, both Publick and Private: taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, "the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer Book of the Church of "England. In Two Parts. Part I. Comprehending the Publick Offices of "the Church; Humbly offered to the consideration of the present Churches "of Christendom, Greek, Roman, English, and all others. Part II. Being "a Primitive method of Daily Private Prayer, containing Devotions for the "Morning and Evening, and for the Ancient hours of prayer, Nine, Twelve, "and Three; together with Hymns and Thanksgivings for the Lord's day "and Sabbath, and prayers for Fasting days; as also Devotions for the "Altar, and Graces before and after meat: All taken from the Apostolical "Constitutions and the ancient Liturgies, with some Additions: and recom-"mended to the practice of All Private Christians of Every Communion. "To which is added, An Appendix in justification of this Undertaking, "consisting of Extracts and Observations, taken from the writings of very "eminent and learned Divines of different Communions. And to all is "subjoined, in a Supplement, An Essay to procure Catholick Communion "upon Catholick principles."

To this Book (whose Appendix was referred to in the Introduction, p. 4, to this tract) and to the Full, True, and Comprehensive View of Chris-

tianity, quoted above (both which were compiled by the same hand, *i. e.*, Dr. Deacon), the pious Reader is desired to recurr: And if he would know, where such a pure perfect Church as I am recommending, is to be found, I will tell him in One Word, at MANCHESTER.

The author of "A Letter to the Reverend the Clergy of the Collegiate Church of Manchester: occasioned by Mr. Owen's remarks both on Dr. Deacon's Catechism and on the Conduct of some of the Manchester Clergy. By a believer in the Doctrines of the Church of England. London, 1748." 8vo, p. 27,—taxes the clergy of the Collegiate Church with neglect of their duty in not answering Dr. Deacon's Catechism; and asks them, "Can "none of you find arguments against the Doctor to set on foot a "public dispute? If you can't, call in the assistance of your "bishops and learned men of the church. Point out to them the "behaviour of the Doctor and his clan. But hold, sure if you are "unable to cope with the Doctor, you certainly are able to deal "with Podmore the Barber, or else what is your learning worth?" He styles Podmore "a queer Dog of a Barber, a disbanded Soldier "of the Pretender's, who enlisted as a Volunteer under him in the "late Rebellion." The "Letter" is attributed to Mr. Percival, of Royton.

Of Podmore's subsequent career we can say nothing. In Mr. Crossley's copy of the "Layman's Apology" is an entry on one of the fly leaves, "Thos. Podmore and Mary Whittaker married at "the Old Church Manchester on 6 Jan^{y} 1784." After which occur the dates of the births of several of their children, the last of whom is "John their Son born 2nd Aug^{t} 1792." Probably this Thomas Podmore was a son of the barber. Scholes's Directory for 1797 has Thomas Podmore, Broad Garden Lane, Salford, but whether the same person or not does not appear.

Thomas Barritt, of Manchester, and his MSS.

THOUGH not half a century has elapsed since his decease, the materials for a memoir of Thomas Barritt, the local Antiquary of his day, are few and scanty. Baines does not place him among the Worthies in his *History of Lancashire*, whose lives were sketched by the late Mr. Whatton; nor is he included in the list of Lancashire Worthies printed as an Appendix to that work. Thomas Barritt was born about the year 1743, in a house next door to the Buck Inn, Withy Grove, which was then indeed a "grove," being bordered by withy trees, and having a running brook down its centre. At that time the Mosleys, the Bradshaws, and other local families of consequence, had residences in Withy Grove; and that district, including Hanging Ditch, was then deemed the fashionable quarter of the town. Having, early in life, had the misfortune to lose a leg, he replaced it by one of cork. His trade of a saddler he carried on for many years at Hyde's Cross and Withy Grove, Manchester, and has left an Indian-ink drawing of his abode. He was thrice married; his third wife surviving him about five years, and dying in 1825. He was — (without, perhaps, possessing the requisite degree of education to fit him for such pursuits) — a man of very strong antiquarian tastes, — especially in the direction of old churches and monuments, old deeds and other MSS., old relics, as arms and armour, stained glass, seals, &c.; and he gave much attention to heraldry. He had some skill in drawing, and took great delight in blazoning coats of arms. Kindred tastes brought him acquainted with neighbouring antiquaries, and amongst others with Charles Chadwick, Esq., of Maveseyn-Ridware (better known in his day as Colonel Chadwick, of the Lancashire militia), who was a great friend to Barritt. He contributed to the genealogy and blazoned the heraldic coats of the Chadwicks, and otherwise showed his zeal in the interests of his patron. He was also a versifier, and has left behind him metrical versions of various local families and events.

One of these, entitled "A Trafford and Byron Feud," has been printed in Harland's *Lancashire Ballads and Songs prior to the 19th Century*. In June, 1802, Barritt was present at the reopening of the tomb of Sir James Stanley, 4th Warden of the Collegiate Church; of which he has left some account in his MSS. These collections fill several volumes, most of which are deposited in Chetham's Library, Manchester, and they testify to his unwearied and pains-taking industry in depicting and recording whatever he saw or heard, that he deemed old or strange. He died on the 29th October, 1820, aged 77 years. He was interred in the Collegiate Church, by torch-light; and we are told that his remains were attended to the grave by thirty or forty of the most respectable inhabitants of the town. His collections were thus disposed of:— Most of his MS. volumes and loose MSS. were purchased by the Feoffees of Chetham's Library, where they may still be seen. His collection of ancient arms, armour, and other antiquities was disposed of by lottery, and of course dispersed; though the greater part were purchased by the late Mrs. Isherwood, of Marple Hall. His collection of ancient stained glass and most of his loose drawings were purchased by the late Mr. William Ford, of Manchester, bookseller; and his books, coins, &c., were sold by auction, by Mr. Thomas Dodd, on the 19th February, 1821, and two following days, at his rooms in the Manchester Exchange. Mr. Crossley has in his collection "A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Coins, Medals, and other Curiosities in my possession. T. Barrit." It is in Barritt's handwriting, and is contained in a 12mo volume, which is illustrated by impressions of coins and medals. It appears to have been commenced in 1778 and continued to the close of his career, and as it contains a detailed account of all the articles on which he set the most value, and mentions the persons to whom they had belonged and where the remains were found, it forms a very curious record of his history and proceedings as an antiquarian collector. At the end of the book he enumerates what he had disposed of, and the parties to whom the books, coins, &c., were parted with, amongst whose names appear those of Sir Ashton

Lever, Rev. Mr. Watson, Rev. Mr. Kenyon, Chetham Librarian, Col. Crawford, Mr. Thomas Beckwith of York, Mr. Blackburn of Oxford, Dr. Hutchinson, and others. The following epitaph was placed on his tomb-stone:

Here resteth the remains of Thomas Barritt,
A Profound Antiquarian, and a good Man.
He died, honoured and respected by all ranks of society,
Oct. 29, 1820, aged 77 years.

The following lines, written by the late Mr. Joseph Aston, of the *Exchange Herald*, who knew him well, and was one of his executors, describe the man and his pursuits and collections so admirably, that they need no apology for their insertion here:

In Mancunium lived a man, who knew
Much of old time, and much of ancient lore;
Strange and scarce books had he, and curious coins,
Medals, and painted glass, and ponderous arms,—
Helmets and breastplates, gauntlets vast, and shields
Of many kinds, proof against bloody war:
Swords without number, of all murdering shapes;
And one which erst had graced a prince's thigh,
More valued than the rest — and more revered
By him who own'd it and by all his friends.
He was versed in heraldry, and could tell
How all the thanes, and all the knights and squires
Within his shire, had sprung from times remote.
And famed, too, was he for his industry;
For aye at work, for much his business call'd;
And yet full many a picture did he paint,
Pedigrees copied, branch and root, and carvings made
Of antique shapes; and, almost beyond belief,
Helmets and shields, to rival Greece and Rome;
Stealing from sleep the time to give them form:
Nay once, grappling patience, he made a suit of mail,

With thousand upon thousand links, for the love
He bore to ancient arms; for he was curious
As the searching air, which pries, without a blush,
Into things scarce, or sacred or profane.

Barritt was a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and contributed one or two papers to its *Memoirs*, one on "The Sensation of Nerves." Amongst his pieces in verse, the following, so far as is known, has not before been printed:

THE RADCLIFFES OF ORDSALL.

Oft elder poets told of men renown'd,
Whose glorious actions are in history found,
These humble lines expect no laurel'd praise;
Cypress and willow more become the case.
To foreign climes my fancy does not roam;
I wish to sing of what has pass'd at home.

A gentle race did once at Ordsall dwell,
A branch from Radcliffe Tower, as heralds tell,
Who kept themselves and theirs in high renown,
As records show, in country and in town.
When generations twelve had gone their round,
A Sir John Radcliffe was at Ordsall found:
Five sons he had, who to the wars would go,
And in the fields of Mars their prowess show.
John, William, Edmund, Thomas, Alexander,
All these, as soldiers brave, abroad did wander.
William and Alexander were in Ireland slain;
Edmund and Thomas died on Flanders' plain:
To Isle of Rhée Sir John, the eldest, went,
When Charles the First thither an army sent;
Buckingham's great duke there led the host.
John, like his brothers, was by fortune cross'd;
For in the battle his death wounds he got,
Where both his legs ta'en off by cannon shot.
But ere he died, a letter did indite,
And on his hat crown did the message write.
Directed was the letter for his bride,

At Ordsall Hall, where she did then reside.
Ere he left home a quarrel had took place,
Through jealousy, which time could not erase.
A Squire Prestwich had familiar been;
At Ordsall Hall he was too often seen.
He lived at Hulme, and, so the tale was rife,
He was too friendly with our Radcliffe's wife,
Which caused a separation to take place;
On home Sir John again ne'er set his face.
Duke Villiers said — "Mind not a faithless bride."
The letter never went; — Sir John he died;
But left a son of Alexander's name,
Made Knight o' th' Bath, which added to his fame;
Who had a son, and he was Robert named,
Whose haughty temper made his conduct blamed.
For, on a day some friends in Cheshire met,
Some pleasant circumstance to celebrate;
But so this Robert, ere he went to bed,
Had with Sir Samuel Daniel quarrellèd.
The next day Robert out a shooting went,
But still his mind upon revenge was bent.
By accident he met Sir Samuel
On Bowdon Downs, for so the people tell,
And fight he would till one of them should die
Ere they did part, and that immediately.
Sir Samuel says — "I see how discord ends;
"I never thought but sleep had made us friends."
"No parley, man," says Robert, "fight I will,
"Or with my gun at once I will you kill."
"Well," says Sir Samuel, "if to fight I must,
"My sword is not the sort I wish to trust."
Then fight they did, and on the sandy Downs
Rash Robert fell, covered with blood and wounds.
Some countrymen did then his body move
From where he died unto some ground above,
Which little spot, as people yet do say,
Is call'd the "Radcliffe's Croft" unto this day.
From thence to Northen Church he was convey'd,

In Tatton Chapel there his corpse was laid.
O'er him a stone does still remain to tell
By what sad circumstance this Robert fell.
Thus in a fatal hour he lost his life
And left at Withenshaw a widow'd wife.
Of fifteen generations, now not one
Is left, of father, uncle, brother, son.
After this time the Radcliffes did decay;
They dissipated Ordsall and its lands away.

The Feoffees of Chetham's Library purchased of Barritt's executors twelve MS. volumes, which will be found described in the third volume of the catalogue of that library (Manchester, 1826) pp. 171–174. These volumes bear the Nos. 8017 to 8029, both inclusive. They seem to have been all of his own compilation except two,— No. 8027, an ancient Rental of the Manor of Ashton-under-Lyne, and No. 8029, a Diary of James Miller, a soldier in the Rebel Army of 1745.

Besides the MSS. of Barritt in Chetham's Library, he left another, which is curious as being chiefly filled with his collections relative to the family or families of Barritt or Barret, and as it is in private hands, the following notice of it may be reprinted here:

This is a small 4to MS. volume, written and illustrated by Thomas Barritt, of Manchester, saddler and antiquary. The volume is covered with dark crimson velvet, and has two square pieces of silver fastened upon the velvet, each representing the same crest, within a square border. Upon a fillet, a leopard passant, with a crowned collar and chain; the animal grasps in his dexter fore paw a fleur-de-lis, or shamrock. In the first fly leaf is written "Emma Barritt, the gift of her dear father, Thomas Barritt, writer of this manuscript, 1820." It may be stated here that this curious little vellum volume, velvet-bound and brass-clasped, passed from the possession of the Barritts shortly after the death of the antiquary, in the following way: — Mrs. Barritt, the widow, being in pecuniary difficulty, sent this volume to the late

Mr. William Barratt, of Dob Lane, Newton Heath (no relative), asking him to give her £20 for it. Of course, the volume was not worth a fourth of that sum; but Mr. Barratt's benevolent disposition induced him at once to send the £20; and at his death the volume became the property of his brother, Mr. Joseph Barratt, afterwards of Sale, to whose kindness we are indebted for the loan of it. The volume is not paged, and here a paper page, there a leaf of ass skin, containing some of his own pictorial illustrations, or heraldic blazons, is inserted. On the first page is a pen-drawing of himself, standing behind a pile of antiques, wearing a gauntlet on his right hand, his left grasping an old deed; one elbow resting on a helmet, the other on a steel coat of mail. Below is his celebrated antique sword, bearing "Edwardus" on the blade, and supposed to have been that of Edward the Black Prince, or Edward I., and various pieces of armour, old coins, and other relics. Within the frame of this portrait is a border of black letter mottoes;— over his head, "Profert antiqua in Apricum;" and around, "I have thought of the days of old and the years that are past." Beneath the frame, in his own hand, is written "T. B., 1792," and "Thomas Barritt, writer of this Manuscript, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, 1793." Opposite on the recto of a leaf of ass skin, in black-letter, the text of Matthew chap. xiii. ver. lii., as to the householder that "bringeth forth out of his treasury things new and old." On the verso an oil-painting portrait half-length of himself, with the black-letter motto, "I have considered the days of old," &c., Psalm lxxvii. 5. This portrait represents him a middle-aged man, wearing a long light-blue coat with brass buttons, buff waistcoat, black breeches, and white neckcloth, his left hand in his waistcoat pocket, his right holding a deed, with seals pendant, and his arm resting on a coat of mail placed upon a table, upon which also rests the "Edwardes" sword. Beneath, in black-letter, "Thomas Barritt, Manchester, 1787."

The book itself is a collection of all that the writer could find in his extensive search and reading, relative to any family or individual named Barritt, or any name resembling it. There is no

attempt at arrangement; but the materials are noted down as they were learned or acquired, not in the rough and ready way of raw materials, however, jotted down for future arrangement, but elaborately written, with illuminated capitals in gold and colours; other capitals rubricked; and, in short, an infinitude of pains taken with it. The first article in the book is entitled "A few remarks upon the family of Barret, or, as wrote in some old writings, Barryt. Collected from Stow's Survey, Weever's Funeral Monuments, the Peerages and Baronetages of England, Histories of Kent, Essex, and others." The capital initial is a gilded T with a white greyhound behind it. The name, he says, is doubtless of Norman origin, for a Barret came over with the conqueror, survived the battle of Hastings, and his name is in the roll of Battle Abbey; and soon after the conquest, a family of the name took root in Kent, whence they spread into various parts of the three kingdoms. In Cheshire, the name appeared at a place called Barret's Pool, in Wirral, as early as the reign of Edward I., and the name still continues in that county. Edmondson, the Mowbray herald, enumerates twenty-eight families of this name bearing coats of arms. The principal family appears to have been seated at Hawkhurst, in Kent, and a branch of it, by marriage, became possessed of a moiety of the manor of Belhouse, in Essex. The pedigrees are decorated with the various coats of arms, impaling those of the heiresses, &c., with whom the Barrets intermarried. The old arms of Barret appear to have been — Barry of four, argent and gules. The first who ennobled the name was Edward Barret, of age in 1600, who travelled in Spain and Italy, corresponded with Sir Henry Wotton, was knighted by James I. in 1618, and in 1625 was appointed ambassador of France. In 1627 he was created Baron Newburgh, of Fife (Scotland); the 20th June, 1628, was sworn a privy councillor of Charles I.; and, in the August of that year, was made chancellor of the exchequer, and subsequently chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, which office he held till his death. With four other officers of the crown, he held the staff of the lord treasurer, by commission.

He died at Belhouse, in 1644; and, leaving no son, he bequeathed his estates to his cousin Sir Richard Lennard, on condition of his assuming the name of Barret; and the arms (party per pale, barry of four, counterchanged argent and gules. Crest, a hydra proper). Sir Richard Lennard was son of Lord Dacre. Lord Newburgh's shield bore twelve coats or quarterings. The Barrets, Lords Dacre, resided at Belhouse, Essex, till 1786, when the name expired with Thomas Lennard Barret, Lord Dacre. Thomas Barritt gives a water-colour drawing of Belhouse, a castellated Gothic building, as it stood in 1784. Next comes a pedigree of the Barrets, of Belhouse, from the time of Edward III. Next follow copies of monumental inscriptions and brief entries of Barrets, holding manors, estates, places, or commissions, &c. Then comes a grant of the Earl of Arundel, in the reign of Henry VI. to which a Thomas Barret was witness. Next is a water-colour drawing, representing a number of men with halberds and a sword, slaying a gentleman at the foot of an altar in a church; of which the following account is given:

During the wars of Lancaster and York, there was an insurrection in London, at which time Thomas Barryt, Squire, (armour-bearer) to King Henry VI. being then in London, fled for safety to the sanctuary of Westminster, but was there pursued by the mob, and slain. Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments*, says, "Of this eminent thrice noble esquire, thus drawn and pulled out of the sanctuary, and cruelly murdered by the hands of wicked people, against the laws of the land and privileges of the holy church, as appears by the inscription [in Latin, in St. Martin's in the Fields], I have read thus much out of a nameless MS.: "Thomas Baryt Squyr to Kyng Harry the Syxt, oftentymes imployd in the French warrys undre the command of John Duc of Bedford, as also John Duc of Norfolk,— being alwy trew lige man to hys Sovereyne Lord the Kyng, havyng taken sanctuary at Westminster, to shon the fury of hys and the kyng's enemys, was from thence halyd [haled, hauled] foorth, and lamentably hewyn in pieces."

An Alexander Barret, sheriff of Aberdeen, was taken prisoner at the battle of Flodden Field, by Sir Richard Assheton, of Middleton, Lancashire. Next follow the pedigree and arms of Barret,

of Titherton, Wiltshire; and then a number of shields, blazoning the "arms borne by the name of Barret," from Edmondson's *Body of Heraldry*. Next come notices of the Barrets, of Perry Court, Kent, with a drawing of the monumental brass of Valentine Barret, and Cicely, his wife, in the chancel of Preston Church, Kent. Various other brief records of Barrets, of different families and counties follow. Next a water-colour drawing, by Barritt, representing Charles I. knighting Edward Barret, of Droitwich, at that place, May 14, 1645. Sir Edward was taken prisoner, with Lord Talbot and others, at Worcester, when that city yielded to the parliamentary forces, in which Colonel Birch, of Birch, near Manchester, held a command. On a brass plate, in the north aisle of Cheam Church, Surrey, is a long inscription, which begins thus:

> This marble will consume, like the bodies it covers; but, whilst it endures, know that it preserves the memory of a saint departed, — Edmund Barret, sergeant of the *wine cellar* to King Charles.

The barony of Barrets, county Cork, takes its name from an ancient English family of that name. It is said that O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone, in 1600, when marching past Castlemore, near Mallow, to join the Spaniards, being told that it was held by one Barret, a good catholic, whose family had held it more than 400 years, swore in Irish, "No matter: I hate that English churl, as if he came but yesterday." In the same year, William Barret, of Balincolly Castle, four miles from Cork, being concerned in Desmond's rebellion, submitted to Queen Elizabeth. A Thomas Baret was Bishop of Knachdune, Ireland, in 1482. Mr. Barritt crosses the sea in another direction for Barrets and enumerates a French family, descended from "Antoine de Barat, Ecuyer, Seigneur de la Maison Fort de Barat, 1565." Nay, he makes the name Phœnician, quoting the *Gentleman's Magazine* to the effect that "*Barit* anak," two Ammonian words, signifying "King of the Ark," were "applied to the first Phœnician settlers in Britain, from their superior skill in navigation." Next he shows

that a Barret was one of the first members of parliament for Ely; that another family of the name were descended from an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.; that a William Baret was made a poor alms knight of Windsor by Elizabeth; that another William was one of the first settlers in Virginia; various others were authors, whose names, dates, and works he enumerates, and he gives a copy (and on another page a translation) of a charter, before dates, of a lady named Eme or Emma Barat, daughter of Gervase Barat, by which she grants a rent of 14d. arising out of a sandpit, to the prior of the hospital of St. Mary of Strodes [? Stroud]. A fac-simile of her oval seal is given, "Sigillum Eme Barat." Next comes a water-colour drawing of a Norman knight, in chain armour, with long two-edged sword and shield, and a written description. At the foot of the drawing is written "T. Barritt in. & del. 1784." Some more monumental inscriptions and notes of Barrets, who were parliamentary captains, compilers of Latin dictionaries, &c., follow. Then we have some original "Verses, made by T. Barritt, upon the situation of Healey Hall:

Ye blest retreats from busy scenes of life,
No drum alarms, or trumpet calls to strife,
To fright the dwellers of these peaceful lands,
Or arm a Prefect of Lancastrian bands;
But calm tranquility these shades possess,
And sweet retirement doth their owner bless.
Hail woods and wilds, which Spodden banks are nigh,
Where crystal streams down rocky gothic fly;
Where May-day youths to taste the Fount repair,
While tales of Fairies entertain the fair.
Here the shy hare its covert-safety finds;
And warbling notes, from birds of various kinds,
Delight the ear; while from beneath we spy
A dreary landscape on the mountain high.
Such were the groves of Charles, where Druid priests of old
Cut the ripe misletoe with bills of gold;
Thence to wide plains conveyed the hallow'd prize

In awful pomp, to grace some sacrifice.
In these still shades the soul of pleasure knows
When morning tones her harp, or night her poppies sows.
Proud monarchs, say, who boast of glittering domes,
If yours compared may be with such like homes!

Next we have, "The following circumstance happened whilst I was at Mavysin Ridware, the seat of Charles Chadwick, Esq.":

On Wednesday, September 8, 1785, during some alterations in a chapel called Trinity Aisle (formerly an oratory), upon the north side of Mavysin Ridware Church, in Staffordshire, a stone coffin (with a circular compartment for the head) was discovered lying in a plain gothic arch in the wall, on which lay a stone effigy, the recumbent figure of an armed knight, in a hauberk, or antique coat of mail, over which was his gambesin or surcoat, and in the act of drawing his sword. Upon his knees were represented plates of armour embossed with rose work. On his left arm was a long triangular shield, of the Norman form, fastened on by a belt over his shoulder. This effigy, with the stone it lay upon, formed the cover-stone of the coffin; upon the removal of which was discovered a skeleton, in tolerable preservation, and amazingly strong-boned, the teeth remarkably white and sound, although buried above 640 years. According to deeds in the hands of Colonel John Chadwick, of Healey Hall, in Lancashire, the above appear to be the bones of Hugo Mavesin, founder of this church, buried in the reign of Henry I., and son to Henry Mavesin, a Norman who came into England with the Conqueror, and had lands given him in Staffordshire. In an adjoining arch, finished with a gothic indent, lay a stone effigy, once painted in colour, of Henry Mavesin, a Knight Hospitaller, and great grandson to the afore-named Hugo. He was interred in the reign of Edward II. (1318). His figure, like that of his grandsire, is habited in a coat of link mail. His surcoat appears to have been red, lined with green. From the position of the hands, he is supposed to be sheathing his sword. On his left arm is a triangular shield on which are three bends, ornamented with what our heralds call diaper of quatrefoils; and his knees are covered with an imitation of sliding plates. Underneath this effigy, in a small stone vault, lay his bones, inclosed (with small pieces of linen cere-cloth) in a leaden coffin of a very singular make, nearly fitting the body very close all over, with a rising case at the smaller end, for the reception of the feet.

The above skeletons, after being exposed a few days, to gratify the curious, were, by the order of Colonel Chadwick and Mr. Charles his son, covered again, and leaden inscriptions (inclosed up along with them) importing the time of their being found and by whom. I took drawings of the bones, as well as of the tombs and monuments in this chapel. Here are likewise alabaster gravestones of the Mavesins and Cowardens, who were afterwards owners of the chapel and manor of Ridware, by marrying with a coheir of Sir Robert Mavesin, the last of the name who owned Mavesin Ridware, of whom is [told] the following story: Sir Robert Mavesin and a Sir William Handesacre, a neighbouring gentleman, having a dispute concerning a mill built by Sir William, upon the south side of the river Trent, to the injury of Sir Robert, lord of the stream, and owner of the land upon the north side of the Trent, opposite the mill. This trespass Sir Robert not submitting unto, assembled his dependents; who, by his command, pulled down the mill and slew the miller: which, so far from reconciling these two gentlemen, served to exasperate them still more against each other, until a fatal meeting of them both together, put an end to the dispute. It happened some while after the above affair, that a rebellion broke out, headed by Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and others, whose intent was to dethrone Henry IV. This civil commotion, like others of the sort, had its friends. Sir Robert Mavesin espoused the cause of the King; Sir William Handesacre that of the rebels. These neighbouring gentlemen set out from their homes upon one and the same day, to join the party they each approved of; and, meeting at a place called High Bridges, about a mile from each other's home, agreed to try the event of the quarrel by dint of sword. The consequence was that Handesacre was slain, and the close wherein they fought is called to this day Battle Field. This affray ended, Sir Robert joins the King's victorious army, fights upon his part, and there fell, at the famous battle of Shrewsbury. His corpse was brought home to Ridware and there interred, and a tomb, with an alabaster coverstone, erected to his memory, upon which is pourtrayed his effigy in armour, his hands uplifted at prayer; and round the margin of the stone is an inscription, setting forth the name, rank, time and manner of the death of the intombed. Sir Robert Mavesin's widow founded an oratory over the gateway now remaining at Ridware, for a priest to say perpetual masses for her slain husband. It appears that Sir Robert left two daughters; one married to Cowarden, and resided at Ridware; the other was wife to the son of Sir William Handesacre, slain by her father; by which match a considerable share of Sir Robert's estate

became the property of the Handesacre family. A female descendant of the above Cowarden, became wife unto [ ] Chadwick, of Lancashire, from whom is C. Chadwick, now of Healey Hall, and owner of the ancient seat and manor of Ridware, my good friend and lover of antiquity.

More monumental inscriptions of Barrets follow, as well as a water-colour drawing, done by Barritt, in 1788, of Thomas Dunster, 1681, and of which he says, "This portrait I drew from an original oil-painting, now at Booths Town, in Worsley, at the house he owned and lived at. It is now in the possession of James Barritt, owner of the said house, who is descended from him. Thomas Dunster was father of Margaret, who married William Barritt, father of Thomas Barritt, father of John, father of Thomas Barritt, now of Hyde's Cross, Manchester, 1788." Upon a flag in the house floor at Booths Town, were the initials T.D. I.D. and A.D. and the year 1681. From numerous records of Barritts, of all parts of England, the following are selected, as relating to Lancashire:

In the 25th Edward III. (1352) Henry Earl of Lancaster, gave and granted to his beloved servant, John Barret, his town of Everton (near Liverpool), with all its wastes, to have &c. to him and his direct heirs, with all manner of franchises, easements, and all other appurtenances to the said town belonging. Yielding therefor yearly, for the said town, £4. Nevertheless if John die without direct issue, the town &c. shall remain to the earl and his heirs for ever. Given at our manor of the Savoy, near London, 23rd Feb. 25th Edward III.

In the 28th Edward III. (1355) Henry, Duke (late Earl) of Lancaster, gave and granted to his beloved servant John Barret, one messuage and forty acres of land in West Derby, which lands Thomas de Hale and Mabilla his wife held as a gift or grant from Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, and for certain causes are come into our hands to have, &c., to the said John and his direct heirs, yielding therefor 20s. yearly. And we also will that the said John may have sufficient turbary and pasture within the said town [? vill] as the said Thomas de Hale and Mabilla have had. If the said John die without direct issue, the said lands shall come to us and our heirs. Witness ourself, at Preston, 12th February, second year of our dukedom.

Free warren was granted to John Barret and his direct heirs, if any. Earl Thomas made him a grant, he being valet to the family of Lancaster, which grant Henry [Earl and Duke] of Lancaster confirmed, and gave him a capital messuage in Liverpool, and six acres of land; which grant was confirmed by Edward III. in the 33rd year of his reign. He was also constable of Liverpool, and had thirty acres of moss in Toxteth Park granted to him, and an adjoining quantity in Liverpool of moss land; for which he was to pay 6s. per annum, by half-yearly payments, at the feasts of St. Nicholas and the Annunciation. This John Barret was constable of Liverpool Castle, the 29th Edward III. (1355).

Passing over a few blank leaves, we have next two printed copies (by Aston), of a quatrain "On the death of Valentine, son of Thomas and Ann Barritt, who died June 12, 1808, aged 8 years, 4 months; buried in the Old Church-yard, Manchester, June 15, 1808:"

Ah! gentle youth, thy lot it was to go
To realms of bliss, and leave these seats of woe;
No longer here, no longer sickness thine,
Death has to angels sent a Valentine.

Beneath one copy is written, by "T. Barritt, 1808," another verse:

Unhallow'd hands this urn forbear,—
No gems nor orient spoil
Lie here conceal'd, but what's more rare,
A heart that knew no guile.

Next come some printed black-letter lines on antique remains, under a wood engraving of a ruined abbey:

See Antiquarius view, with thoughtful eye,
The dreary sepulchres where mortals lie;
Converse with stones and monumental brass,
The rude inscription, and the painted glass;
The gloomy vaults descend with awful tread,
And view the silent mansions of the dead;
Restored monuments he brings to view,

And all their faded grandeur blooms anew:
Sires to their sons, by lineal pedigree
He joins, in all the forms of heraldry;
Nor stops his search, where elder arts and arms
Point out the way that 's strew'd with antique charms.

The next leaf is an original receipt, in the following terms:

"Dec. 9th, Anno D'ni 1667.—Received then of James Chetham, of Turton, Esq., the summe of six pounds, due to the poore of Worsley and Midle Hulton, in November last 1667. Being the interest for one hundred pounds, the gift of the Lady Leigh to the said poore. We say received £6.—(Signed) Peter Vallentine, churchwarden, T. G. (mark of) Thomas Cooke, overseer; William Farnworth, overseers of the poore.—Witnesses hereof, Thomas Smith, Edw. Horrich." [Barritt appends a few lines in red ink at the foot of the original document]. The above Peter Vallentine was "father of Peter Valentine, father of Ann, who married Thomas Barritt, of Kempnough, father of John Barritt, father of Thomas Barritt, now of Hyde's Cross, Manchester. 1787. This paper I had given me, along with other papers and MSS. once belonging to James Chetham, father of Humphrey Chetham, founder of the college in Manchester. A John de Valentine lived 30th Edw. III. 1356."

On the next page is a copy on India paper, neatly done with a pen, apparently by Barritt himself, of a title-page in black-letter and rubricked with the printer's device, colophon, &c., in imitation of wood-engraving, and the date of publication. The title is in Latin, being that of the Book of Hours of the blessed Virgin, entirely according to the use of "Sax:" with the prayers of the blessed Brigetta or Bridget, and many other prayers. Printed by John le Prest [the Priest] for Robert Valentine, living at the book-shop in the porch of the church of the blessed Mary, at Rouen. The device represents the central and two side trees. On the centre, from a low branch, hangs an heraldic shield, argent, with the initials R. V. in chief, separated by a fesse or bar from the rest of the field, which contains a representation of the crucifix, with the crown of thorns, the label INRI, and gouts of blood falling. At the foot of the cross a scull. Supporters, two unicorns, stand-

ing erect on their hind feet, or rampant; their fore-hoofs holding the shield. At the foot of the engraving on a scroll, "Robert Valentine;" and at the foot of the page, in imitation of black-letter type, "MDLiiij," (1554). Next comes an engraving, occupying a whole 4to page, with eleven figures of armour helmets, &c.; No. 1 being that of a knight armed cap à pié. Pasted on this, in Barritt's hand, is the following: "One of the five suits of armour in the possession of Thomas Barritt, of Hanging Ditch, Manchester, 1810, weighs above 60lb.; his suit of chain mail, 60lb.; his sword, called "Long Bertram," measures 6f. 1in. from pommel to point." Next we have an original letter from the Rev. John Watson, of Stockport, to the Rev. Mr. Norris, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries, dated Stockport, January 17, 1781, which will explain itself:

I have sent for the inspection of the society, an exact drawing of a curious antique sword, belonging to Mr. Thomas Barritt, of Manchester, who informs me, that sixty or seventy years ago it was used by a park-keeper at Garswood Hall, in Lancashire, the seat of the Gerards; but how it came into that part of the world is uncertain. The whole length of it from A to B is 28½ inches; but probably it was once a little longer, as it seems blunted at the point. The length of the blade is 22¼ inches. The handle is stag's horn, and the cap at the pommel, the guard, and ring in the middle of the handle, are iron, and once were gilt, which gilding is not yet quite worn off. On one side the blade is written the word "Edwardvs," and after it is placed the imperfect figure of some animal; on the other, "Prins: Anglie." The letters are not painted on the surface of the metal, but punched with a tool and afterwards filled with gold wire, as appears from some of them having lost their gold. Their size and shape are the same as the drawing. Now the question is, to whom this curiosity may be supposed to have originally belonged. And from the form of the letters, I think we cannot judge it to be more modern than the time of Edward the Black Prince, who had the title of "Princeps Anglie," till he was 13 years of age, when (17th Edw. III. 1343) he was created Prince of Wales. Against the opinion of its belonging to him it may be urged that the size of the weapon, which appears to have been a military one, seems rather to have suited a grown-up man than such a youth; therefore

I would not lay too great a stress upon it, especially as a very learned member of the society thinks, that from the inverted S, and from the letters on coins, it appears to be of a higher date than 1343. In all probability, then, it was the property of King Edward I., who was many years "Princeps Anglie," in the reign of his father Henry III. If the above proves to be any amusement to the society, it will give pleasure to their obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN WATSON.

The last page of this curious volume is occupied by a printed bill or advertisement, at the top of which is written by Barritt, "On two monuments, modelled by T. Barritt, now in Mr. Green's museum, Litchfield:"

Monument to Hugo Mauvesin, in Mavesin Ridware Church, Staffordshire. He was Lord of Ridware in the reign of Henry I., and founded the priory of Blithburgh, in the reign of Stephen. He was the son of Henry Malvesyn, who came into England with William the Conqueror. His coffin discovered, and bones found, Sept. 7th, 1785. He had been interred above 600 years. [Also the] Monument of Sir Henry Mavasyn, Knt., in Mavesin Ridware Church. He was great-great-grandson of Hugo, and a crusader, as appears by his crossed legs; he died in the year 1318. His leaden coffin discovered Sept. 8th, 1785.—Surveyed and modelled by the ingenious Mr. Thos. Barritt, Hyde's Cross, Manchester, 1787.

Hail, Dormit' of illustrious dead!
And ye once clad in mail!
Where I, on sculptur'd stone have sat,
And heard your ancient tale.
In these cold walls, with Ridware's sons,
I've been, 'twixt light and shade,
Where Norman Hugo draws his sword,
And Henry sheathes the blade.

T. BARRITT, Hyde's Cross, Manchester.

Such are the contents of this very curious volume, upon which its writer and embellisher must have bestowed a world of pains, especially in his illuminated capitals, illustrative drawings, and tricks and blazons of armorial bearings.

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In one of Barritt's MS. volumes in Chetham's Library (No. 8019), he has filled the title-page or frontispiece with coloured drawings and heraldic blazons. The lower part represents the interior of Eccles Church, in which the artist has pourtrayed himself, in a suit of sober black, shorts, brass shoe-buckles, gold watch-chain, &c., busy sketching the table tomb of Richard Brereton and Dorothy his wife, with their recumbent effigies. In this page he has also introduced the eight lines given above, beginning "See Antiquarius," &c. At the back of this title is the engraved portrait of Barritt, representing him seated, his right hand resting on a helmet placed on his knee; his left hand grasping his trusty staff; while suspended on the wall are his celebrated sword (with "Edwardus" on its blade) and an ancient horn, perhaps that of the Chadwicks. The motto of this engraving is — "I have considered the days of old and the years that are past." The portrait was drawn and engraved by Charles Pye, of London, and published by him in April 1820. There is also an etching of Barritt, done by himself, in colours, with the motto "Profert antiqua in Apricum," and the date 1794, corresponding in other respects with the portrait in the Barritt volume previously described.

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